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# MARMADUKE LORD LANGDALE

BY  
FREDERICK HAROLD SUNDERLAND  
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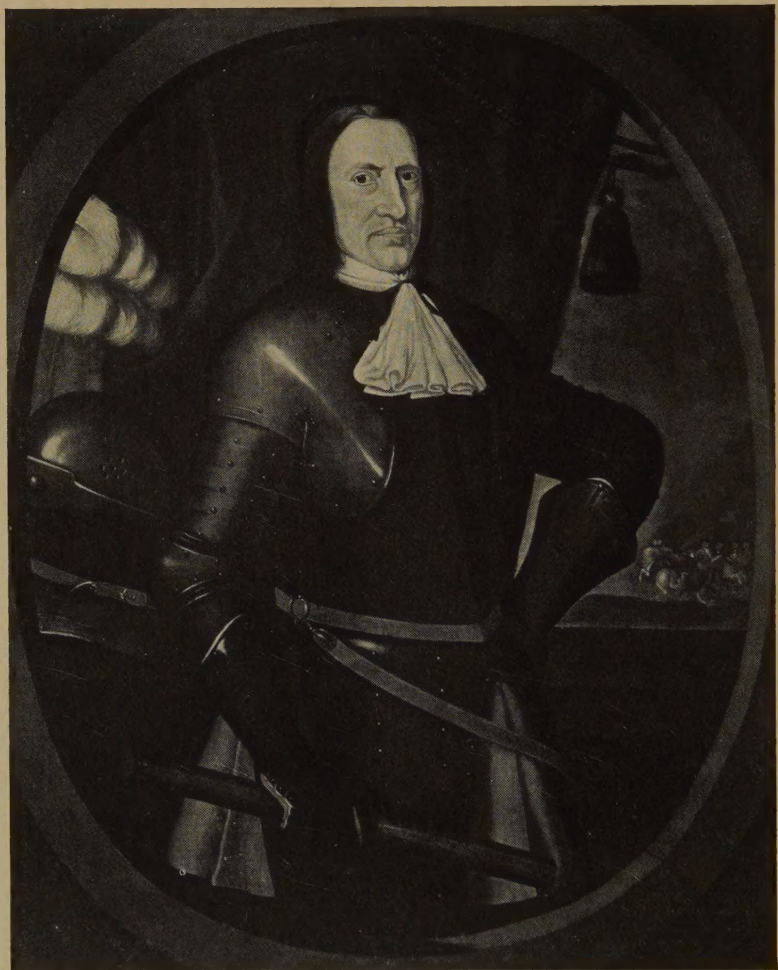
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MARMADUKE  
LORD LANGDALE







SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE, 1ST LORD LANGDAIE OF HOLME-ON-SPALDING-MOOR,  
YORKSHIRE, COLONEL-GENERAL.

By courtesy of Mrs. Harford.



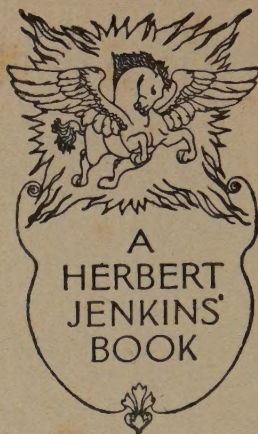
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# MARMADUKE LORD LANGDALE

OF HOLME-ON-SPALDING-MOOR  
YORKSHIRE (COLONEL-GENERAL) AND  
SOME EVENTS OF HIS TIME (1598-1661)

BY  
FREDERICK HAROLD SUNDERLAND

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I have to thank Mrs. Harford for generously placing at my disposal the papers in her possession, for allowing me to make free use of them, and also for kind permission to reproduce the portrait of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, 1st Lord Langdale of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, Yorkshire, and other illustrations.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Harford for the help and encouragement he has given me.

To Mrs. Langdale of Houghton I owe the story of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's escape from Houghton Hall, and that story she has told me as she remembers having it told her by the old servants when she first went to Houghton at the time of her marriage. At that time the story was held to as a tradition that was worth remembering.

As far as possible I have allowed the old and attested statements of certain incidents to tell the story in their own words, fearing that to improvise on them would detract from their quaint sentient charm.

F. H. S.

Death has not carried our ancestors away from us ; he has planted them within us. . . . We are nothing but their shadows.

MAETERLINCK.



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# MARMADUKE LORD LANGDALE

## CHAPTER I

**T**HE family of Langdale, sometime of Etton, Houghton, Sancton, Eastthrop, Lanthrop, North Dalton and Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, all in the East Riding of the County of York, possess deeds and evidences proving their genealogy back to Patrick de Langdale, contemporary with Edward III.

The maternal connections of the Langdale family down to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Knight, 1st Lord Langdale of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, East Yorkshire, and his sister Elizabeth, who became the wife of Abraham Sunderland of High Sunderland and Coley, West Yorkshire, are of interest: they connect up the Langdale family with other Yorkshire families of great repute. They are in order Etton of Etton; Houghton of Houghton; Cliff; Comarfurth; Gare; Midelton; Constable of Flamborough, Holme and Everingham; Vavasour of Spaldington and Willitof; t

Vavasour of Copmanthorpe ; and Warton of Beverley, all in the County of York.

Amanda, the daughter of Laurence de Etton, was descended from Sir Odard de Maunsel and from Sir Hugelin de Etton, lord of Skyren, Holderness, who married Aubrey de Okton ; Ellena, the daughter of William de Houghton,<sup>1</sup> was descended from Sir Thomas de Houghton, Knight ; Anne was the daughter of Thomas Gare, Citizen and Alderman of York ; Anna was the daughter of John Midelton, Merchant of the Staple ; Agnes was the daughter of Philip Constable of Everingham ; Jane was the daughter of Sir Peter Vavasour of Spaldington, Knight ; Jane was the daughter of Thomas Vavasour of Copmanthorpe ; and Anna was the daughter of Michael Warton of Beverley.

The descent of Agnes Constable who married Anthony Langdale calls for more elucidation.

The family of Constable take their name from the office of Constable of Chester to which Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester in the Conqueror's time, appointed his kinsman Nigel, Baron of Haulton. Nigel's descendant John, constable of Chester under Richard I, assumed the name and claimed the lands of Lacy, Baron of Pontefract. John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, gave the lordship of Flamborough to his brother, Robert, surnamed

<sup>1</sup> Houton, Houghton or Hoton.



le Constable, founder of the house of Flamborough, who died in 1216.

1. Robert Le Constable of Flamborough had issue :
2. Sir William Constable of Flamborough, Knight, who was buried at Flamborough. He had issue :
3. Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, Knight, who was buried at Flamborough. He had issue :
4. Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough and Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, Knight, who was High Sheriff of Yorkshire 1366-7. He was buried at Flamborough or Holme-on-Spalding-Moor. He had issue :
5. Sir William Constable of Flamborough, Knight, who married a daughter of Lord Fitzhugh. He had issue :
6. Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, Knight, who was High Sheriff 1385-6. He married Margaret, daughter of William Skipwith. He was buried at Flamborough. He had issue :
7. Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough, Knight, who married Katherine, daughter of Robert Cumberworth, by Sibilla, daughter and heir of Sir William Erghum. He was buried at Flamborough. His sister Elizabeth was a nun at Swyne. He had issue :
8. Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, Knight, who married Agnes, daughter of Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne. He was buried at Flamborough. He had issue :
9. Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, Knight, who was High Sheriff of Yorkshire 1479, and Member of Parliament for Yorkshire 1477.

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He married Agnes, daughter of Sir Roger Wentworth, of Nettlestead. He had issue :

10. Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough, Knight, popularly called " Little Sir Marmaduke." He was one of the Commanders at Flodden, and Sheriff of Yorkshire 1489, 1494, and 1509. He married first Margery or Margaret, daughter of Henry Fitz-Hugh, 5th Lord of Ravensworth, who died without issue and secondly Joyce, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, Knight, by whom he had issue :

- (a) Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, who was knighted at the battle of Blackheath, 17 June, 1479. He took a leading part in the Pilgrimage of Grace and in consequence was executed and suffered martyrdom at the Beverley Gate, Hull. His manor of Flamborough and other lands and tenements in the County of York, including the manor of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, were sequestrated by the Crown.
- (b) Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, Knight.
- (c) Sir William Constable of Hatfield, Knight.
- (d) Sir John Constable of Kinalton, Knight. He was knighted at Flodden.
- (e) Agnes, who married first Sir Henry Oughtred of Kexby, and secondly Sir William Percy, younger son of the 4th Earl of Northumberland.
- (f) Eleanor, who married first John Ingleby, of Ripley, and secondly Thomas, Lord Berkeley.

Sir Marmaduke Constable, "the little," was buried at Flamborough.

Agnes, descended from Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, became the wife of Anthony Langdale, brother and heir of John Langdale. Agnes Langdale was the great-great-grandmother of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Knight, 1st Lord Langdale of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, and of Elizabeth Langdale, the wife of Abraham Sunderland of High Sunderland and Coley.

It was after this marriage that the Christian name of Marmaduke figures among the Christian names of the male descendants of the Langdales. Marmaduke was a favourite name with the Constable family, and the fact that it had been borne by that doughty warrior "the little" Sir Marmaduke, whose tradition and memory were held in high esteem by the daughters of the house, encouraged its application to the descendants of the Constables of Flamborough, Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, and Everingham in the maternal line. The first Marmaduke Langdale was a grandson of Agnes, and held the manors of Dowthorpe, Lanthrop and Woodall. His nephew was also named Marmaduke, and his grand-nephew and the third to be so christened was Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Knight, 1st Lord Langdale of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, who was the son of Peter Langdale of Sancton and Beverley.

Another notable family from whom two of the Langdale's received their brides was that of the Vavasour of Hazelwood.

Ann, daughter of Sir Peter Vavasour of Spaldington and Willitoft, Knight, a scion of the house of Vavasour of Hazelwood, became the wife of Thomas Langdale of Sancton, the son of Anthony Langdale and Agnes (Constable) his wife.

Ann Vavasour's father founded the chauntry in the chapel of St. James's at Spaldington. He was Sheriff of York 1519, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew, Lord Windsor of Stanwell. He was buried at Bubwith. His father

William Vavasour of Gunby, married first Isabel, daughter of Robert Urswick of Badsworth, who died without issue, and secondly Alice, daughter of Robert Mallory. His father

Sir John Vavasour of Spaldington, Knight, married Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas de la Haye, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir (Robert ?) Babthorpe of Babthorpe, Knight. Through his wife the Vavasours inherited Spaldington, which had been in the possession of the de la Hayes since the Conquest. His father

John Vavasour, married Ann, daughter of Sir Henry Scrope, Knight, 6th Lord Scrope of Bolton by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Percy, 13th Baron de Percy, 6th Lord Percy of Alnwick, and 3rd Earl of Northumberland, who was summoned to Parliament in right of his wife as Baron Poynings, Fitz Payn and Bryan. His father

Sir Henry Vavasour of Hazelwood, Knight, married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Skip-

with of Ormesby, County Lincoln, Knight, Chief Justice of England. His father

Sir William Vavasour of Hazelwood, Stubs and Woodhall, married Elizabeth, daughter of William Stapleton of Edenhall, County Cumberland. His father

Sir Henry Vavasour of Hazelwood married Annabell, daughter of Henry Lord Fitzhugh of Ravensworth Castle. His father

Sir Henry le Vavasour<sup>1</sup> married Constance, daughter of Sir William Mowbray, Knight. His father

Sir William le Vavasour of Hazelwood was employed in the Gascoigne and Scotch wars, and was so greatly esteemed that he was summoned to Parliament among the Barons from 6 February, 1299 (27 Edwd. I) to 7 January, 1313 (6 Edwd. II) although not in every year. He was keeper of the castles of Nottingham, Harston and Bolsover. In 5 Edwd. II he had custody of the city of York. He was in the wars in Scotland and present at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300 and is described by the monk chronicler present :

“And of this same division was William le Vavasour, who in arms is neither deaf nor dumb. He had a very distinguishable banner of fine gold with a sable dauncet.”

He gave to the Archbishop and Chapter of York from the quarry at Theves-dale (Jack-daw crag) the stone from which York Minster was built. He also founded St. Leonard's chapel in his castle of Hazelwood, which because of his magnificent gift to York was made extra parochial by the arch-

<sup>1</sup> His elder brother, Walter le Vavasour, 2nd Baron Vavasour (confirmed to Parliament 26 July, 1313), died without issue. Henry le Vavasour, was direct heir.



bishop. The King's charter for the chapel is dated 29 April, 1286 (15 Edwd. I), the confirmation is dated 5 June, 1452 (31 Henry VI). He had licence from the King to castellate Hazelwood (18 Edw. I). In 23 Edw. I he did homage for all lands and tenements which Alice, his mother, held of the King as of the barony of Bayeux (Bacocis). He married Nichola, daughter of Sir Stephen Wallis of Newton, Knight. He died 6 Edw. II. In his will, dated 1311, he wished to be buried in the new chapel of St. Leonard's of Hazelwood. His brother was Sir Mauger Vavasour, *a quo* Vavasour of Weston, Newton, Acaster, etc. His father

Sir John le Vavasour, lord of Hazelwood, gave to the Abbot and Convent of Thornton and the Prebendaries and Chapter of St. Peter's Church, Howden, stone from his quarries at Theves-dale near Tadcaster to build their churches and repair other edifices. His sister Maud married Theobald Walter, brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. He married Alice, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Cockfield, Knight. His father

Sir Robert le Vavasour was High Sheriff of County Nottingham, 21 Henry III (1236) and High Sheriff of Derby from 31 Henry III until his death. He married Juliana, daughter of Gilbert de Ros of Steeton, Yorkshire. He had custody of the tower of Peverell. In 9 John he paid a fine of 1,200 marks and two palfreys that his daughter, the widow of Theobald Walter, might be married to Fulke Fitz Warine, an eminent Baron of his time who held huge estates in Sussex, Yorkshire, and elsewhere. His father

Sir William le Vavasour, lord of Hazelwood, a Judge (30 Hen. II) 1184, was one of the witnesses

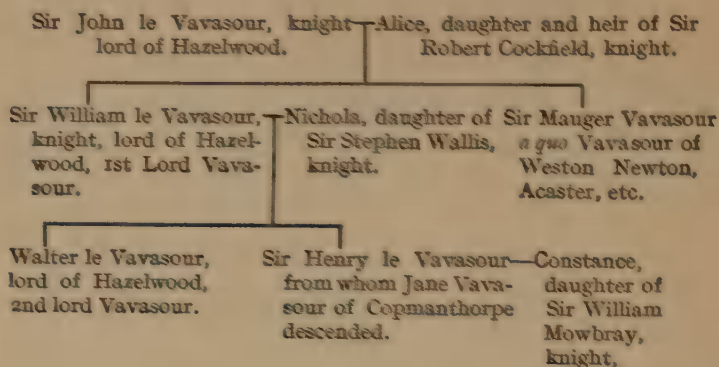
to the charter of the Abbey of Sawley, County York, re-founded by Maud de Percy, Countess of Warwick. In a grant to the monks of Tadcaster, Maud de Percy, daughter of William de Percy, 4th Baron, speaks of acting "by the advice of the Lord Vavasour and other of our faithful lieges and of our whole Court." At her various castles she maintained a rude state, verging on royalty. Her elder sister Agnes de Percy, Baroness de Percy, was co-heir and eventual heir to her father, and married Josceline de Louvain, who assumed the name of Percy. Sir William le Vavasour held two knight's fees of Sir William de Percy, 1187. His father

Sir Mauger le Vavasour gave to the monks of Salley the mill at Hunslet. His father

Sir Mauger le Vavasour heads the Vavasour pedigree.

Jane Vavasour of the Vavasours of Copmanthorpe, who married Anthony Langdale, was descended from Sir William le Vavasour's younger son, Sir Mauger Vavasour, Knight, of Denton and Askwith, *a quo* Vavasour of Weston, Newton, Acaster, etc.; Jane Vavasour met a common ancestor with Ann Vavasour, the wife of Thomas Langdale, in Sir John le Vavasour, Knight, lord of Hazelwood; he who gave stone from his quarry at Theves-dale to Thornton and Howden. Of the Vavasours it has been said that in twenty-one descents from Sir Mauger le Vavasour (*temperorary* William I) not one of them had ever married an heir or ever buried his wife.

## 22 MARMADUKE LORD LANGDALE



## CHAPTER II

Je suis jeune, il est vrai, mais aux âmes bien nées  
La valeur n'attend pas le nombre des années.

CORNEILLE, *Le Cid*.

**M**ARMADUKE LANGDALE was the son of Peter Langdale of Pighill, Beverley, and his wife Anne, daughter of Michael Warton of Beverley and sister of Sir Michael Warton. His father was younger brother of Richard Langdale, the heir to the Langdale ancient estates. His grandfather, Anthony Langdale of Sancton, a staunch Catholic and recusant, fled to Rome and died there, 10 April, 1577, while his grandmother, Joan, was daughter of Thomas Vavasour, a scion of the illustrious and knightly family of Vavasour of Hazelwood.

He was born in 1598. When in his nineteenth year of age his father was laid to rest in Sancton Church, 3 June, 1617. A monument formerly in Sancton Church to the memory of Peter Langdale is descriptive of a pious and honourable life.

Here lyeth buried under this stone  
 the body of Peter Langdayle, esquire,  
 who deceased the first day of June in  
 the yere of our Lord God 1617,  
 leaving his wief, Anne, and two children  
 Marmaduke and Elizabeth,  
 yet living.

Man's life a warfare is, wher man must fight  
 To gain the honor of a Christian Knight.  
 Thou wast a soldier in a double sence,  
 For which thou hast a double recompence.  
 First, since thou hast not spar'd to spend thy blood,  
 In honor of thy King and countrie's good.  
 Thou hast atchiv'd true fame as thy due merit,  
 Who Josuah like, mad'st knowne thy martiall spirit.  
 For thy spirituall fight, thou hast Heavun's crowne  
 Having with Paul perform'd itt with renowne.  
 Spending thy dayes of peace to thy soule's health,  
 Hurtfull to none, good to thy common wealth.  
 And now thy corps in grave doth sleep in rest,  
 Till soule and body shall with Christ be blest.  
 A tree (saith Christ) is by the fruit well knowne,  
 None ever saw on thistles figs t'have growne.  
 None but good Christians then can do good deeds,  
 Each pious action from true faith proceeds.  
 Like Anna, that good prophetesse, thy zeale  
 Abounded haith to God, the commonweale.  
 Nay, like good Dorcas, thou the poor dost cherishe,  
 Giving them harbor, that they might not perish :  
 Delighted most a vertuous life to live,  
 And unto all ther right and due to give,  
 Yea, thou the best part didst with Mary choose,  
 Loving, whiles living, wisely itt to use :  
 Wherefore, as thou in good works diddst abound,  
 Thy sainted soule with saints shall aye be crown'd.

On the monument and above the inscription were  
 two coats-of-arms : Sable a chevron between 3

stars silver, a crescent sable for difference—Peter Langdale ; Gold on a chevron azure a martlet inter 2 pheons gold—Anne Warton, his wife.

### The Will of Peter Langdale :

“ In the name of God Amen, the fiftenth day of Februarie in the yeare of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ his incarnation 1616, I Peter Langdale callinge to my consideration the incertaintie of mans frailtie and the certaintie of death and beinge visited with the Almightyes messenger siknese in my body but beinge of able and perfect remembrance and understandinge, I thank my Creator for it, for the disposinge and setling of that worldlie estate in lands goods and chattells which it hath plesed God to lend me, I doe hereby make this my last will and last Testament in manner followinge, first I bequeath my soule to almightie God hopinge that for the alone obedience meritte and satisfaction of Christ Jesu his sonne and my Saviour my sinnes are remitted and my soule shall be presented spotles before God and beinge severed from this tabernacle of Earth shal live for ever in heaven and my bodie I comitt to the earth to be buried in that parish church of Santon if I die at my owne house or else in the parish church where I shall die and I doe give and bequeath unto Marmaduke Langdale my sonne all the rectorie of Malscroft and parsonage of the same w<sup>th</sup> the rights members and appurtenances to the same belonginge and all my lands tenements and hereditaments whereof I am seised lyinge or beinge within the Countie of Yorke or elsewhere Except my lands in Pighill wherof I have made a lease for two yeres from the first of May next to my Daughter Eliza-



beth, w<sup>ch</sup> said lands in Pighill I am willinge shall  
 discend and come to my said sonne and his heires  
 after the said lease ended To have and to hould  
 all the said rectorie and parsonage impropriate  
 with all the rights members and appurtenances to  
 the same belonginge and other my lands and tene-  
 ments, except before excepted, to the said Mar-  
 maduke Langdale and to the heires of the bodie  
 of the said Marmaduke Langdale lawfully begotten  
 or to be begotten and for default of such issue  
 then to the right heires of me the saide Peter  
 Langdale for ever. Also I give and bequeath to  
 my said sonne Marmaduke Langdale his executors  
 and assignes all that my lease of the Rectorie of  
 Santon and all my tenements which I should by  
 lease in Santon and al my right title estate and  
 interest of in or to the same or any of them  
 and I give and bequeath to my said sonne Mar-  
 maduke Langdale all that my ferme called Kirk  
 ferme which I houlde for tearme of yeres in Bain-  
 ton and my right title estate and Interest of in or  
 to the same or any of them, and I give and bequeath  
 unto Anne Langdale my wife the possession and  
 use of all my plate and householde stuffe whereof  
 I am possessed at or within my house at Pighill  
 charginge my said wife that she wil not alien sell  
 give away or wast any of the said goods in hir  
 life time but that she will leave the same after her  
 decease to my said sonne Marmaduke Langdale  
 in which confidence I bequeath the said householde  
 stuffe and plate to hir as aforesaide. And I give  
 and bequeath to Robert Hornebie of the Citie of  
 Yorke the somme of ten pounds to be paid to him  
 by my executors hereafter named within two  
 moneths after my decease. Item I give unto  
 John Hamond of Northclif in the said Countie of

Yorke the sune of ten pounds to be paid by my executors w<sup>h</sup>in two months after my decease and the rest of my goods and chattels not herein given or bequeathed my debts and legacies paid I doe give unto my sonne Marmaduke Langdale and my said daughter Elizabeth Langdale to be equally devided betweene them. And I doe make constitute and appointe the said Marmaduke Langdale and my said daughter Elizabeth Langdale executors of this my last will and testament. In Witnes whereof I have hereunto subscribed my hand and putt to my seale the daie and yere first above mentioned. Anno Do<sup>m</sup>. 1616.

(Signed) PETER LANGDAYLL.

Sealed and signed in the presence of us

ROBERT GRIMESDICKE.

ROBERT BEVERLEY.

ROBERT AYTON.

In witnesse that this is a true copie of Mr Peter Langdaylls will and testament we have hereunto set our hands.

MARMADUKE LANGDAYLL.

JOHN CONSTABLE.

JOHN . . . . .

Marmaduke Langdale even as a youth developed strong patriotic ideas and sturdy soldier-like qualities. The war between the Catholic and Protestant States in Western Europe gave him his first opportunity to bear arms in defence of a member of the Royal House of Stuart.

In 1618 trouble broke out in Bohemia which proved to be the opening of a war that embroiled Western Europe for a period of thirty years. The

Spanish Government, hoping to attract James I to the side of Spain and to prevent aid being given by England to the Bohemians, requested the King to mediate between the Bohemians and their King, the Emperor Matthias. Matthias died the following year, and de Plessen <sup>1</sup> proposed on behalf of Frederick that James should support a plan for giving Bohemia to Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, and for procuring the Imperial crown for Frederick. The King rejected the proposals. On 18 August, 1619, Ferdinand of Styria, who had succeeded Matthias in his hereditary dominions, among which he counted Bohemia, was elected Emperor at Frankfort. Two days earlier Frederick had been chosen King of Bohemia by the Bohemian Diet. Frederick sent Donna as ambassador to England to implore the King's assistance in making good his claim. The King would promise nothing, and informed Donna that he expected to be furnished with evidence of the legality of Frederick's election. On 21 February, 1620, Buwinckhausen arrived in London as emissary from the Princes of the Union, of which Frederick, the Elector Palatine, was the chief member, to ask James to defend their territory if Spain should attack the Palatinate. The King hesitated to pledge himself and took refuge in an investigation of Frederick's title to Bohemia.

<sup>1</sup> One of Frederick's agents.

In the meantime public opinion was growing in England and there was in evidence a desire to send help to Frederick. The King, however, hoping that peace might be established, refused permission to Donna to raise for Frederick a loan in the city, and also refused to allow Sir Anthony Gray to levy troops for Bohemia. Early in March, however, the King changed his mind, gave Grey leave to raise the men he needed, and sent an ambassador to the King of Denmark to borrow money for the defence of the Palatinate. On 5 March Gondomar<sup>1</sup> arrived in England on a second embassy. A marriage between the King's son Charles and a Spanish princess came under discussion, and on 14 March, the King refused help to Buwinckhausen on the grounds that he hoped to bring about a general peace with the help of Spain. He allowed a voluntary contribution to be raised for the princes, and the King's son Charles, who had not hesitated to declare himself on the side of his sister's husband, Frederick, assessed himself at £5,000. At the same time volunteers were enrolled for the defence of the Palatinate. A number of English county gentlemen or their sons enlisted for service, among them Marmaduke Langdale and Sir John Hotham, the son and heir of a neighbour at Scarborough, who was destined to be Langdale's doughty opponent in war in later years.

<sup>1</sup> Sarmiento, Count of Gondomar.

Sir Horace Vere embarked with the regiment of volunteers for the defence of the Palatinate, and in September James learnt that Spinola and the Spanish levies had invaded the Palatinate.

Frederick was defeated on the White Hill near Prague. On news of this defeat the King's son Charles, who had resented his father's attitude towards Frederick, shut himself up in his room for two days, refusing to speak to anyone. The King now sent an embassy to the Princes of the Union, assuring them that he would do everything possible on their behalf, and appointed a Council of War to draw up a scheme for the defence of the Palatinate. Frederick continued to lay claim to the crown of Bohemia, and refused to go to the Palatinate to defend his hereditary dominions. Mansfield, who was in command of Frederick's army, was driven out of the Upper Palatinate, and fell back on the Lower Palatinate.

On 20 November the English Parliament re-assembled, and it was soon made clear that there was a vast difference between the policy which the King advocated, and that which the Commons wished him to follow. James wanted to proceed with the Spanish match and to trust to the honesty of Philip IV, who that year had succeeded his father Philip III as King of Spain, to help him make Frederick the undisputed master of the Palatinates. The Commons, believing that Spain

was the real originator of the mischief, wanted an immediate breach with that country. On 3 December they adopted a petition on religion asking that the King should take the lead of the Protestant States on the Continent, should suppress recusants at home, and marry the Prince to one of his own religion. The King told the Commons that they were not to meddle with anything that concerned his government or deep matters of State. The Commons in reply claimed the right of freedom of debate, and the power to entertain any affairs concerning the King, State, and defence of the realm. On 19 December the House adjourned. Certain leading members were imprisoned in the Tower, and others sent on a mission to Ireland. On 6 June, 1622, the King dissolved his third Parliament. The struggle between the Crown and Parliament that was ultimately to plunge the country into civil war and lead for a time to the total overthrow of the monarchy had commenced. No subsidy had been voted and the King increased the impositions and called for another benevolence. Before the end of the summer Mansfield, who was now accompanied by Frederick, was driven out of the Palatinate, and all Frederick's allies defeated. Only three fortified towns remained held in Frederick's name—Heidelberg, Mannheim and Frankenthal. Heidelberg, defended by an English garrison, was taken by



Tilly on 6 September, and Mannheim capitulated on 28 October. Frankenthal alone held out for Frederick.

James still hoped for the recovery of all that had been lost to Frederick by the good offices of Spain. The Spanish Government was not, however, in a position to join Protestant States in a war against the Catholic Emperor and the Catholic League.

The King's fourth Parliament met on 19 February, 1623. On 23 March the King declared under much pressure that the treaties with Spain were dissolved.

Before the Spanish Treaty was finally broken off overtures had been received from France, and Kensington had been sent to Paris to sound the Queen-Mother and Louis XIII on their willingness to bestow the King's sister, Henrietta Maria, on the Prince of Wales. Whatever shape the war was to take it was advisable to be on good terms with France.

On 27 March, 1625, James died of tertian ague in his fifty-ninth year of age. He had reigned in England a little over twenty-two years. For no slight reason was he called the "wisest fool in Christendom."

On 1 May Charles was married by proxy to Henrietta Maria, and on 13 June received his bride at Canterbury.

Such a training as Marmaduke Langdale undertook, the science of arms, stood a man well in those days. How long he was absent from his native land during his youthful years there is no record to show. He was back in England in 1626, in which year he developed a passionate love affair with Lennox, the daughter of Sir John Rodes of Barlborough, county Derby. His sweetheart came to St. Michael-le-Belfrey parish, York, and at the parish church there they were married by special licence on 12 September, 1626. Marmaduke Langdale recorded the event some time later in a diary and gave the date of the event "about Tuesday, 9 September." By this marriage Langdale could claim to be brother-in-law of Sir John Hotham of Scarborough. In the register of the church Marmaduke Langdale is described as of Cherry Burton and his wife as of St. Michael-le-Belfrey parish, York.

After the marriage, he and his bride went to reside at North Dalton, in the neighbourhood of the homes of his mother and his kith and kin at Houghton. His second cousin, Philip Langdale, had succeeded on the death of his elder brother Richard, to the ancient family estates at Houghton and Sancton.

On Monday, 14 January, 1627, his wife gave birth to a male child and the child was baptised 28 January, being a Monday, and received his father's name of Marmaduke.

Shortly after this event Marmaduke Langdale made his appearance before the King at Whitehall, when he obeyed the King's summons, and there he was knighted 5 February, 1627, at the age of twenty-eight. He returned to his native county to continue a life of sweet domestic felicity.

On 21 February, 1628, a receipt for £10 was given by George Bland, deputy receiver for county York, for monies received from Marmaduke Langdale, son and heir of Peter Langdale, for a fine imposed (17 James) for lands held in Molescroft.

On Friday, 17 April, 1629, a second child was born to him, a daughter, and was baptised 6 May and christened Lennox after her mother.

In the following year another daughter was born on St. Bartholomew's Day, about 12 o'clock midnight, and was baptised 10 September, 1630.

A fourth child, a son, was born 21 March, 1632, about 2 in the morning. He was named Peter. He died 16 April, 1633, and was buried at Sancton the following day.

In 1633 Sir Marmaduke Langdale took advantage of an opportunity to acquire by purchase from a kinsman, Sir William Constable, Knight and Baronet, of Flamborough and Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, the manor and estate of Holme, and it is possible that shortly after this event he went with his wife and family to reside at Holme (old hall),

and there probably his two youngest children, Anne and Anthony were born, and there his wife died shortly after child-birth on 22 July, 1639.

Sir William Constable was the grandson of Sir Robert Constable, Knight, who had been attainted and his estates confiscated by Henry VIII for the part he played in the popular Yorkshire rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. Sir William Constable's father, Sir Robert Constable, had petitioned Queen Elizabeth 13 August, 1617, for the return of the manors of Flamborough and Holme-on-Spalding-Moor and other lands and tenements in the county of York, sequestered by his ancestor's attainder, and the manors of Flamborough and Holme-on-Spalding-Moor were returned to him. His son, Sir William Constable, disposed of both manors and estates. Sir William Constable was created a Baronet 29 June, 1611. He married Dorothy, daughter of Ferdinando, 1st Lord Fairfax of Denton.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale sold the rectory <sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> The rectorial lands of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, Yorkshire, were in the possession of the Crown since the attainder of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough and Holme for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace, until sold by James I in 1609 to Francis Phillips and Richard Moore, citizens of London, along with the advowson of the vicarage of Holme

## 36 MARMADUKE LORD LANGDALE

Holme-on-Spalding-Moor in 1635 to Dr. Hodgson, for the use of St. John's College, Cambridge: it was then an impropriation, and was in 1665 a donative for one of their fellows, value £160, out of which £23 was paid to the King for fee-farm rent.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale recorded in a journal certain particulars in regard to the birth of his children, of which the following extracts are taken from a copy made presumably from the original journal by the late Henry Stourton of Holme Hall.

“In the Name of God. Amen.

“I was married upon Tuesday about 9th of September, 1626.<sup>1</sup> My wife was delivered of a man child <sup>2</sup> upon Monday the 14th January, 1627. The day is called in some Almanacks ‘felix’ in some ‘felix . . . .’ in some ‘felicior’ betwixt the hours of 7 and 9 of the clock in the Morning or earlier, half an hour past 8 of the clock. The full Moon was the

with the right to appoint or nominate the Vicar on the vacancy. These men sold the rectorial land with the advowson and all rights to Peter Langdale of Sancton by deed of grant dated 17 October, 1610. Peter Langdale bequeathed both the rectory and the vicarage, with all appertaining to them, to his son Marmaduke Langdale.

<sup>1</sup> Paver's Marriage Licences 1626. Marmaduke Langdale esquire of Cherry Burton and Lennox Rodes of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York . . . at St. Michael. Married by special licence, 12 September, 1626. Lennox Rodes was the daughter of Sir John Rodes, Knight, of Barlborough, county Derby.

<sup>2</sup> Marmaduke, afterwards 2nd Lord Langdale, Governor of Hull (*temp.* James II).



10th day after 9 of the clock at Night. The sign that day was virgo 20, the aspect of the Moon ☐24☐ and it was a great frost and snow that day and had been a week before. This year Easter day fell upon the 25th of March being Our Lady's day, and this year, the loan of 5 Subsidies came first into.<sup>1</sup> This year the English besieged the Isle of Rhé in France and were defeated. This year the King of Denmark was almost quite overthrown. He was baptised the 28th of January being Monday. That day was a great wind that overthrew many houses in England.

MARMADUKE LANGDAYLL."

"My second child, a daughter<sup>2</sup> was born upon Friday the 17th of April 1629 about 2 of the clock in the morning. The new Moon was the 13th day before at 9 and 6 minutes in the Morning. The child it was born 10 days before the time. It was baptised the 6th of May following named Lennox. It was a fair day when it was born and a fair day when it was baptised.

"My third child,<sup>3</sup> a daughter, was born on the night of August being St. Bartholomew's day, 1630 about 12 of the clock on the night. New Moon was the 27th day a little past 7 at night. She was baptised the 10th day of September following. It was born on a fair night and baptised on a fair day.

"My 4th child (a son) was born the 21st day of March, 1632, about 2 of the clock in the morning. It was a fair night and a great frost. He was

<sup>1</sup> Subsidies-ship money.

<sup>2</sup> Lenox. Married Cuthbert Harrison of Acaster Selby; died 6, buried 8 February, 1658, at Stillingfleet, M.I.

<sup>3</sup> Mary. Married Robert Prickett of Wressle, 8 May, 1654, at North Dalton, buried 6 September, 1678, at Pocklington.



named Peter. He died the sixteenth of April 1633 and is buried at Sancton the day after.

"My 5th child <sup>1</sup> a son was born the 1st day of March, St. David's day, it was Saturday 1633 full Moon the 4th day after about 7 or 8 of the clock at night. He was baptised the 11th of March after named Philip (Sr Philip <sup>2</sup> godfather and Mr. Hogan and Mrs. Hogan Godmother).

"My 6th child, <sup>3</sup> a daughter was born the 29th of June 1636. It was St. Peter's day about 6 of the clock in the morning. New Moon the 22nd before, 10 minutes past 6 in the afternoon. The Sign (Libra) baptised and called Anne. Her Aunt Precilla, Sr Lenox and Sir Philip Stapleton.

"My 7th child a son was born the 22nd of July 1639 upon a Monday about 10 and 11 of the clock. The New Moon was the 20th day about high noon the same month. The Sign was in Virgo. One hour after the birth my wife to my unspeakable grief died. The child was baptised on the same day. His brother Duke and Philip were godfathers, his Aunt Precilla Godmother. Named Anthony. The weather very fair."

An event of importance in the career of Sir Marmaduke Langdale was the arrival in this country of Rupert, the son of the Elector Palatine of Bavaria and his wife Elizabeth Stuart, elder daughter of James VI of Scotland (James I of England), a sister of King Charles I.

<sup>1</sup> Philip. Barrister-at-Law, admitted to Gray's Inn, 4 March, 1655-6; buried at St. Andrew's, Holborn, 10 December, 1672; will dated 13 August, 1672, proved at York.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Philip Stapleton.

<sup>3</sup> Anne.

Rupert, then in his seventeenth year of age, visited England in 1636. Rupert at that age had experienced some military training. In 1633 he had accompanied the Prince of Orange during his campaign, and was present at the siege of Rhynberg. In 1635 he served as a volunteer in the Life Guards of the Prince of Orange during the invasion of Brabant. So fascinating was young Rupert, a scheme was proposed for the establishment of an English colony in Madagascar, of which Rupert was to be governor. The King seriously considered the project, and asked the advice and assistance of the East India Company. Rupert's mother did not favour the idea, and wrote with much wisdom, "As for Rupert's conquest of Madagascar, it sounds like one of Don Quixote's conquests, where he promised his trusty squire to make him king of an island," and told Rupert that such a scheme was "neither feasible, safe, nor honourable for him." She pressed for his return to Holland, saying, "Though it be a great honour and happiness to him to wait upon his uncle, yet, his youth considered, he will be better employed to see the wars."

During his stay in England Rupert earned the good opinion of the King and the Court, and when the King dismissed him in July, 1637, to return home, he granted him a monthly pension of eight hundred crowns.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale met Rupert during his visit, and conceived a warm regard for him. It is quite possible that he may have accompanied the young prince back to the Hague. In the autumn of 1637 Rupert took part in the siege of Breda, at which Sir Marmaduke Langdale may have been present. It is evident from a letter written by Rupert's mother that Sir Marmaduke Langdale had been abroad about this time and that there existed a ripe friendship and regard by the Queen of Bohemia <sup>1</sup> for Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Writing in 1638 to Sir Marmaduke Langdale she states:

"I ame verie glade to know by your letter that you are so well arrived in England, and that the King doe still continue his affection to Rupert, I have sent him your letter he had not yett had answere from the Emperour for his leave but looked for it everie day, he meant in the meane time to goe to Berlin to visit the Electour of Brandebourg where I beleeeve my letter will finde him, I assure you I cannot be in England sooner then I wish myself, and when the King shall

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, was granddaughter of Mary Queen of Scots. The Queen of Bohemia was great-grandmother of King George II, whose daughter Louisa became Queen of Denmark. King Christian IX, the late Queen Alexandra's father, was Queen Louisa's great-grandson. H.M. the King is therefore descended on both the maternal and paternal side from Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, as King Edward VII was also directly descended from that Queen.

My love you need make no  
excuse for your mistake for I  
have comitted the like many  
times. Rupert ha bene ill  
but is now recovered and  
gone to Rostock to change  
aire. I have writtent to him to  
come hither to goe for England  
as soone as he can. I heere there  
be some new prisoners, I hope  
they shall have what they de-  
serve, it is so hott that I can  
write no more but rest ever

Your verie affectionat  
friend

Elizabeth

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM ELIZABETH STUART, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA  
TO SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

By courtesy of Mrs. Harford.



please to send for me I shall goe verie willinglie. I may remember him of it when you finde a fitt time, the weather is so hott I can say no more."

Again in July of the same year the Queen writes from the Hague, twitting Sir Marmaduke on the dignity of addressing his friend as "madame" and "majesty" for which if she had him with her she would "jeer him to some tune for it."

"Julie 5/15, Hagh. I send you your letter againe where you will see how you mistooke the superscription. I beleeeve those you sent my letter to were as much surprised to see Madame and Majestie upon it, as I was to see gentlemen, if I had you heere I woulde jeere you to some tune for it, but now I ame mercifull to you, and onelie assure you that I ame still extremelie your frend. There is no news stirring heere, your frend Rupert has not bene well since he came into his quarters, he had like to have had a feaver, but he writes to me it had left him, onelie he was a little weak; as soone as he can he will be in England where I wish myself to, for this place is verie dull now, for there is verie little companie."

Sir Marmaduke Langdale evidently wrote apologising for his mistake in addressing his friend the Queen in so formal a manner, and that he did so without delay after receipt of the Queen's letter is evident from the reply he received the same month. The Queen wrote :



"You need make no excuse for your mistake for I have comitted the like manie times. Rupert has bene ill, but is now recovered and gone to Rostok to change aire. I have written to him to come hither to goe for England as soon as he can, I heere there be some new prisonners, I hope they shall have what they deserve, it is so hott that I can write no more."

In that same year Rupert, instead of coming to England, accompanied his father, who had raised a small army to invade Westphalia. On 17 October the Elector Palatine's little army was defeated on the banks of the Weser, and Rupert after performing prodigies of valour was taken prisoner. Thus the desire expressed by his friend Sir Marmaduke Langdale that he should return to England was in consequence delayed by a three years' imprisonment at Linz.

With truth could the Queen of Bohemia state that she was "born to so much affliction."

Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, was born at Falkland Castle in Fifeshire on 19 August, 1596, the elder daughter of James VI of Scotland by his consort Ann of Denmark. In 1613 she married the young Elector Palatine Frederick V. Rupert, her third son, was her favourite child. He was born at Prague on 17 December, 1619, about six weeks after his father's coronation as King of Bohemia. On 8 November, 1620, the battle of the White Mountains obliged his parents to fly from Prague,

and Rupert accompanied his mother first to Berlin, and finally to Holland in April, 1621. This brief reign earned for the King of Bohemia the sobriquet of "the Winter King." Elizabeth Stuart, a very amiable princess, bore her misfortunes with dignity and even magnanimity. So engaging was her behaviour, she was known as the "Queen of Hearts" in the Low Countries where she lived in exile many years.

### CHAPTER III

**O**N 18 June, 1625, Charles's first Parliament met. The Commons set up a petition on the state of religion, and voted the King two subsidies amounting to about £140,000, and tonnage and poundage for one year. This amount was inadequate to carry on a serious war, and the King directed Sir John Coke to inform the House that a subsidy of £700,000 was needed. In order to conciliate the people the King announced his intention of enforcing the laws against recusants. The Commons refused to extend the subsidy, and the King dissolved Parliament.

Charles hoped to be able to prove that he and Buckingham,<sup>1</sup> whose conduct the Commons had wished to enquire into, were competent to carry on the war successfully. By means of Privy Seal loans the King equipped an expedition which was sent under Sir Edward Cecil<sup>2</sup> to Cadiz. To raise further funds he despatched Buckingham to Holland to pawn the Crown jewels. The expedition after some slight successes proved a failure, and Buckingham

<sup>1</sup> George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon.

returned with a much smaller sum than had been expected.

The King's second Parliament met on 6 February, 1626. The Commons proceeded to enquire into grievances, and resolved to impeach Buckingham. On 9 June the King told the Commons that if they would not grant supply he must use other resolutions. Parliament was dissolved on 15 June without granting supply.

In his straits for money Charles proposed that the freeholders should give him the five subsidies which the Commons had named in a resolution but had not passed a bill to give the law effect. The freeholders refused to grant the subsidies, and the King imposed a levy of ships from the sea-coast shires. With the money so obtained a fleet was raised and sent under Lord Willoughby, only to be scattered by a storm in the Bay of Biscay and to accomplish nothing. The King's need for money was now all the greater as he was drifting into an open quarrel with France. His breach of the promise made to Louis XIII to protect the English Catholics led to quarrels between himself and his wife. A story had got around that the Queen had offered prayers in the neighbourhood of Tyburn for the Catholic martyrs, and a violent scene took place at Whitehall between the King and Queen on 31 July, which ended in the King turning out the Queen's French attendants and sending them

back to France. Louis XIII complained that such a proceeding was a breach of the marriage treaty.

While hostilities with France were impending, in addition to the war with Spain, fresh calls for money arose in Germany. Charles had engaged to pay £30,000 a month to his uncle, Christian IV, King of Denmark, but the payment was stopped soon after the promise was made. Christian was defeated at Lutter on 17 August and complained that his defeat was owing to his nephew's failure to carry out his promise. In September Charles ordered the levy of a forced loan against the five subsidies which he had failed to secure as a gift, and it was not until the leading statesmen of the popular party had been imprisoned for refusing to pay that any considerable part of the loan could be collected. The King then sent Sir Charles Morgan with a division of foot to assist the King of Denmark. In the meanwhile war with France had broken out, and Buckingham in command of a large expedition went to the Isle of Rhé to relieve Rochelle. The siege of Fort St. Martin on St. Martin's Island, was prolonged, and Buckingham requested reinforcements. The King urged his ministers to gather men and money, but Buckingham's unpopularity was of such a nature that little could be done. Buckingham was defeated and obliged to abandon the Island of Rhé. On

11 November he landed at Plymouth. The King resolved to go on with the war.

On 17 March, 1628, the King's third Parliament met. The Commons drew up a Petition of Right to secure the liberties of the subjects, enumerating the grievances the country was suffering and declaring various practices, such as arbitrary taxation and imprisonment, billeting of soldiers upon householders, and punishment by martial law, to be illegal. The bill passed the House on 28 May, and on 7 June the King reluctantly gave his consent to it. On 26 June the King prorogued Parliament. The assassination of Buckingham and the failure of the third expedition to Rhé quickly followed.

When Parliament met in 1629 the Commons dissented from the line which the King had taken in the Church questions of the day, and under Eliot's leadership they resolved to question the King's agents. The King sent a message commanding them to adjourn, and a violent scene took place, the Speaker being held down in the chair while the resolutions were passed declaring that the preachers of Arminian doctrines and those who levied or paid poundage were enemies of the country. Charles dissolved Parliament, and for eleven years ruled without one.

During the period that Charles remained without a Parliament, he governed by the advice of Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom he created Earl of



Strafford, and Laud, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth, formerly one of the leaders of the Commons, had forsaken the popular party for the Royal favour. He was made president of the Council of York and ruled the northern district with absolute power. Laud, who had gained great influence over Charles, availed himself of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission to punish those who would not conform to the established religion. Certain Puritans unable to obtain religious freedom at home, sailed across the seas and laid the foundation of the State of Massachusetts.

For a long time the King's difficulties were financial. He made peace with France, and in 1630 with Spain. He enforced the payment of tonnage and poundage, and he raised a considerable sum by demanding money from those who had omitted to apply for knighthood, being in possession of £40 a year.

In 1634 he took alarm at the growing strength of the French navy, and in pursuance of a suggestion of Attorney-General Noy, writs were issued to the port towns directing them to supply ships of a larger type than hitherto or to commute their obligations for a money payment. It was given out that the ships were required for the defence of the realm against pirates and enemies. At the same time the King was negotiating a secret treaty

with Spain, the object of which was a combined attack on the Dutch.

In 1635 the ship-money writs were extended to the inland counties. The negotiations with Spain had broken down, and the ambition of the King was to have a strong fleet to enforce the sovereignty of England on the seas. Increasing resistance to the payment of ship-money spread with each subsequent year.

In 1639 a warrant was issued from Westminster, dated 12 November, in which Sir Marmaduke Langdale was appointed High Sheriff of Yorkshire on the recommendation of the Lord Deputy.

Christopher Ellison, writing to Sir Arthur Ingram the younger in a letter dated Westminster, 12 November, 1639, gives information of the appointment :

“ I have sent down by last week’s carrier a dozen of shuttlecocks and two pair of battle-dores together with a bundle of holland. You have heard that Sir Marmaduke Langdell has been made high sheriff of Yorkshire, on the recommendation of the Lord Deputy, although Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir John Buckie and another were given for lights to the King.”

That Sir Marmaduke Langdale was a public-spirited servant is shown by his refusing to extort by force the tax called “ ship-money,” which had fallen on sea-coast counties to provide a fleet in

time of war, and which the King endeavoured to impose in a time of peace on the whole country.

On 27 May, 1640, the King from Westminster directed to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sheriff of the County, the following letter which tells its own story :

*"The King to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sheriff of County York.*

"By our writ of 1639 we commanded you to furnish a ship of 960 tons, the charge whereof was computed at £12,000, which you had instructions to levy and pay into the Treasurers of the Navy so timely as that provisions might be prepared, and the ship made ready to put to sea by 1 April last. Notwithstanding which our writ and sundry letters and commandments from the Council, contrary to the faith and allegiance which you owe us, you have hitherto neglected to perform that service in manifest contempt of our crown and dignity, and thereby justly have incurred our high displeasure and indignation, and as much as in you lies have exposed this state and kingdom to the danger of a foreign enemy, for want of those timely supplies which are for the safety and preservation thereof. We have, therefore, to leave you the more excuseless, thought fit by these our letters to signify our express pleasure to you, that without further delay you perform that service according to the tenor of our writ, and that you forthwith levy the £12,000 in that county, or so much as is behind and unpaid thereof and deliver the same to the Treasurer of the Navy at such times as are expressed in the Council's letters of 11th May and this upon peril of incurring the

utmost of such forfeitures and punishments as by the laws of this realm may be inflicted upon you for so high a contempt and misdemeanour."

Sir Marmaduke Langdale took no action on this threatening communication, calmly endorsed it "received this letter from Mr. Barker 29th May, 1649, at 4 o'clock afternoon," signed it "Mar. Langdale," and put it aside.

It was rightly evident to Langdale that with the universal stubborn opposition to the tax, an injustice that he and every gentleman in the country detested, it would become of itself ineffective. Probably he hoped that his own action in the matter would lead the King to see the folly of levying extortionate demands on the people; but the King was desiring money and more money and, surrounded by advisers who were not the wisest of men, was led on with flattery to an outbreak that proved a tragedy and held the country in the grip of civil war and disaster for several years. One wonders what would have been the effect on the Yorkshire gentlemen had Sir Marmaduke Langdale enforced the tax. One can readily believe that, human nature being what it is, it would have severely affected the warm loyal response that Yorkshire, especially the East and North Ridings made to the King's cause two years later.

Strafford, the chief minister of the King, wrote in reference to Sir Marmaduke Langdale's opposition

to the levy : " I hear my old friend Sir Marmaduke Langdale appears in the head of this business ; that gentleman I fear carries an itch about with him, that will never let him take rest, till at one time or other he happen to be thoroughly clawed indeed." Strafford shortly after was voted by Parliament a traitor and executed. " Stone dead hath no fellow " was the opinion of many about Strafford.

In heart and mind no one was more loyal to the King's person than Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the northern Royalists, but no one more heartily detested abuse and extortion. The King probably knew this only too well, and even if he could not trust explicitly his countrymen to the south, he knew well enough that he had loyal allies and friends in the north.

On the way to his coronation in Scotland, Charles paid a visit of three days to York in 1633.

The King was sumptuously entertained by the Lord Mayor and the Archbishop of York. Presents were made him by the city of a large silver cup and a purse of gold of one hundred pounds. The loyalty of York was strikingly evinced during the King's visit.

Charles was crowned at Edinburgh on 18 June by five bishops in white rochets and sleeves, wearing copes of gold " having blue silk at their feet," and behind the communion table, decked like an

altar, was a rich tapestry with the crucifix "curiously wrought."

A Parliament was held, and the Scotch voted a supply to the King. After a stay of five weeks in Scotland the King returned to the Queen at Greenwich.

No longer could any Scotch subject say with truth that Charles "thought the Scotch crown not worth the journey."

In 1637 the King attempted to impose upon the Scotch Church a liturgy similar to that of the English Church. Its introduction was fiercely opposed. The Scotch banded themselves together, and a document known as the Covenant was drawn up and signed by all ranks of society.

In 1639 the King came north with an army to compel the Scotch to obedience. At Tadcaster he was met by the sheriffs of York, and at Micklegate bar by the Lord Mayor and other of the Corporation. The trained bands of the city and Ainsty, amounting to 600 men, clad in buff and scarlet, with russet boots, and black caps with feathers, were drawn up on the outside of Micklegate Bar and received the King with a discharge of musketry. When the King reached the manor house, the trained bands drew up in Bishop-fields on the opposite side of the river and performed their exercise, firing four rounds.

The King attended the Minster on the following



Sunday, and the trained bands lined up from his residence to the Minster.

So gratified was Charles with their behaviour, he distributed a sum of money amongst them and returned his thanks in person.

Charles held a council relative to affairs in Scotland, and spent much time reviewing his troops ; York and its neighbourhood being the principal rendezvous for the Royal army. The King knighted the Lord Mayor and the Recorder of York. After passing about a month at York he proceeded against the Scotch, who had raised an army commanded by Leslie, an officer of distinction who had fought in the German wars. When the two armies came in sight of each other, negotiations were opened, and a temporary peace concluded.

The following year, finding the King had disbanded his forces, the Scotch entered England, routed a few English troops at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and took possession of the town. They then proceeded to the borders of Yorkshire, levying a contribution of £850 per day on Northumberland and Durham, and threatened to occupy York.

The King hastened to raise another army. On his arrival at York he issued a proclamation granting pardon to all who would in future be obedient to their sovereign. This proclamation had little effect on the Scotch. The King marked out entrenchments and fortifications for the better

security of the city and summoned a great council of the English peers to meet at York within twenty days. On the day the writs were issued Sir Jacob Astley arrived at York with the King's main army amounting to 12,000 foot and 300 horse. About the same time 50 pieces of ordnance, 132 waggons loaded with powder, match and shot, and several loads of pick-axes, spades and shovels arrived at York from the Hull garrison. On 10 September the King assembled the gentlemen of Yorkshire and proposed their paying the trained bands for two months, which they did. After entreating the King to exert himself for the restoration of peace with the Scotch, they begged that he would immediately summon a Parliament as the only means of restoring and ensuring a continuance of tranquillity. On 24 September the peers met the King at the Deanery. The King delivered a speech of considerable length in which he stated that not having time under existing conditions to assemble a Parliament he had, according to the custom of his predecessors, called a great council of peers, whose advice he earnestly entreated respecting his conduct towards the rebels, and the maintenance of his army.

It was agreed that negotiations should be opened with the Scotch, and sixteen peers were appointed commissioners. York was chosen by the King as the place of treaty, but the Scotch objected, and

Ripon was finally agreed to. The King and his council of peers sat at York a little over a month, during which time numerous messages passed between them and the commissioners at Ripon. The proceedings were not productive of any decisive arrangement. It is stated that the King's commissioners acted with duplicity and treachery against the King's interest.

While the treaty was in negotiation, certain Scotch regiments advanced beyond the limits set by the truce, and Strafford caused them to retire.

The King was advised that the points of difference could best be settled by the Parliaments of the two nations. Charles called a Parliament which met in November. Its first act was to impeach Strafford, to whose influence much of the bad government of Charles was attributed. Strafford was arrested and confined in the Tower. Laud, whom the Commons had also impeached, was also arrested and confined there. Many of the King's ministers fled the country. A fierce attack was then made upon the bishops and clergy, and it was ordered that all images, crucifixes and altars should be demolished in the churches.

The following year Strafford was brought to trial for high treason. Out of the many charges laid to his account two only were considered proved—that of raising money on his own authority and of unlawfully billeting troops upon

the people in Ireland. The issue being somewhat doubtful, the impeachment for treason was abandoned, and a Bill of Attainder passed which condemned Strafford to death. The King at first refused to sign the warrant, but eventually gave way and Strafford was beheaded 12 May.

The condition of affairs in the north, the loyalty of the inhabitants of York, and the conduct of the Long Parliament, were strong inducements for the King to notice, by frequent visits, the second city in the kingdom.

The King arrived at York on 20 November, on his way to Scotland, where he had summoned a Parliament in order to ascertain their disposition towards him. He was accompanied by his son, Prince Charles, the Palgrave of the Rhine, the Duke of Lennox, and several other noblemen. The day following their arrival they dined with the Lord Mayor, who was knighted, as was also Robert Berwick, the Recorder. The King demanded a guard from the freeholders of Yorkshire for his protection.

After his visit to Scotland the King returned to Whitehall.

## 1642

After the attempted arrest of the five Members in the House of Commons, fearing for his safety the

King fled to Hampton Court. Parliament seized the Tower of London and the towns of Portsmouth and Hull, and demanded that the militia should be given up to them. This the King refused. In March the King removed to York, accompanied by his son. He was received with every mark of attachment. The Yorkshire nobility and gentlemen, who were at the time attending the assizes, presented a loyal petition to the King, praying him to inform them of any expedient likely to remove the misunderstanding between himself and the Parliament, and offering to exert themselves to effect so desirable an object. The King returned a brief answer, requesting them to address their petitions to Parliament and to proceed as might be most proper for the public welfare.

The State printing presses were set up in a yard of St. William's college, and a paper war commenced which ended with more serious hostilities.

In April the King went from York to Hull intending to secure the magazines of that town, which were very considerable. He found the gates of Hull shut against him, and the bridges drawn. Sir John Hotham, the Governor, appeared upon the walls and refused to admit the King.

The day previous to the arrival of the King before Hull, the Duke of York and the Elector Palatine, accompanied by Lords Newport and Willoughby and Sir Thomas Glenham, had entered

Hull unobserved along with the crowd of country people, it being market-day. They were recognised in the streets of the town, and taken to the Governor, who received them with the respect due to their rank, and entertained them. They were actually dining at Trinity House whilst Sir John Hotham was parleying from the walls with the King. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon the gate was opened and they were allowed to join the King's party outside the walls. The King retired, slept the night at Beverley and returned to York the following day.

The King sent an address to Parliament complaining of the conduct of Sir Thomas Hotham and demanded that he should be punished as a traitor. In reply, Parliament forwarded to the King certain resolutions approving the conduct of Sir John Hotham, together with a declaration vindicating their own proceedings. These declarations were delivered by Lord Howard of Escrick, Sir Hugh Cholmley, Sir Philip Stapleton<sup>1</sup> and Sir Henry Cholmley, who were ordered to reside at York and watch the conduct of the King.

The Yorkshire gentlemen considered the conduct of Sir John Hotham an open declaration of war and sent an address to the King offering to raise men in the county and take Hull by force. The

<sup>1</sup> God-father of certain children of Langdale. A leader of the Parliamentary horse.



King declined the offer, thinking that a reconciliation might be effected.

On 1 May the King summoned the Yorkshire gentlemen to meet him in the city and 4,000 attended. The King addressed them relative to the state of the country. Hutton of Goldsborough, after hearing the King's speech at Sir Arthur Ingram's house, retired with others to the Deanery, and there drew up and signed an answer to it requesting the King to throw himself entirely upon the Parliament, on whose care and affection he might safely rely. To this address the King replied in a brief and indirect manner.

This body of opinion was greatly in the minority in Yorkshire. Those holding other opinion showed their loyalty by a public address to the King, expressive of their attachment. Two hundred young men of the county formed themselves into a troop of horse under the command of the Prince of Wales with Sir Francis Wortley as lieutenant-colonel. The King had also a regiment of 600 foot of the trained band commanded by Sir Robert Strickland. This small force was raised solely for the protection of the King's person.

Parliament complained that the King was levying forces to subdue them, and published several pamphlets on the subject to alarm the people.

The state of the nation began to look serious.

The King issued a proclamation in which, under pain of punishment according to law, he forbade the enlistment of any troops except under his own seal manual.

In answer to this proclamation Parliament issued an order directing all High Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace and other officers within 150 miles of York, to be vigilant in stopping arms and ammunition going towards the city and to apprehend all persons who were found transgressing.

In June the King despatched the Earl of Newcastle<sup>1</sup> from York to secure Newcastle-on-Tyne and appointed him to the command of the four northern counties.

The possession of Newcastle-on-Tyne enabled the King to receive supplies of arms and money from Denmark and Holland, and facilitated his correspondence with the Queen.

Various messages continued to pass between the King and the Parliament, and matters not improving the King called another meeting of the Yorkshire gentlemen at York. They viewed the matter with grave concern, and intimated that the King should quit York and the county if the quarrel were to develop into an act of war. The King decided

<sup>1</sup> William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, was the son of Sir Charles Cavendish and Catherine, second daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle. He was born in 1592. On 7 March 1628, he was created Earl of Newcastle.

to leave York and issued a proclamation dated 12 August requiring those who favoured his cause to meet him at Nottingham on 22 August. He appointed the Earl of Cumberland to be in charge of military operations and supreme command of the county in military affairs, and Sir Thomas Glenham as second-in-command. These appointments were made at the request of the Yorkshire nobility and gentlemen.

The King left York on 2 September.

At the commencement of the war Parliament had an army of 20,000 infantry and 4,000 horse under the command of the Earl of Essex. The King had but few men and was obliged to fall back upon Shrewsbury. Here large numbers of Royalists and Catholics joined his standard and he began to march upon London. He met the army of Fairfax at Edgehill, 23 October, 1642. In the battle which followed both sides claimed the victory, but the advantage was with the King. Essex retired to Coventry, and the King established himself at Oxford. Rupert, the King's nephew, and commander of the cavalry, attempted to surprise London, reached Brentford, 12 November, failed in his attempt, and retired to Oxford.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Thomas Glenham, the Earl of Cumberland, and other of the northern

Royalists raised their tenantry and neighbours into a force for the King.

Parliament had ordered Sir John Hotham to make frequent sallies from Hull to trouble the Royalists, and Captain John Hotham, son of the Governor, made serious devastations in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. A treaty of neutrality had been agreed to by a number of Yorkshire Parliamentarians on 29 September, but Captain John Hotham refused to be bound by the treaty, marched out of Hull with three companies of foot and a troop of horse and occupied Doncaster. He captured Cawood Castle and published a declaration explaining his reasons for disregarding the treaty.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale took action against Hotham, and compelled him to desist from his activities in the East Riding and keep himself isolated in Hull.

However loyal the East Riding appeared, with the solitary exception of Hull and the Hothams, matters in the West Riding were not so good. In the West Riding Fairfax<sup>1</sup> was agitating strenuously against the King's interest, and was succeeding in turning many wavering hearts and minds from their allegiance. The activities of Fairfax were attended with much success and practically the whole of the West Riding was solid for the Par-

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinando Lord Fairfax of Denton, Yorkshire.

liament. With a large force of locally raised men Fairfax advanced towards York and blockaded the city. Sir Thomas Fairfax<sup>1</sup> and Captain John Hotham had advanced so far against York as to fortify Tadcaster and Wetherby.

Sir Thomas Glenham was repulsed in two furious assaults on Wetherby.

It was necessary for the Royalists of Yorkshire to take action to remove the pressure of Fairfax on York, and to do so effectively needed more troops than they could muster. On the loyalty of York and the continued good faith of that city depended the loyalty of the north of England. It was decided to send to the Earl of Newcastle, Governor of the town and castle of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to invite his assistance and to entreat him to march south with the troops he had recently raised and help them to relieve York and break the power of Fairfax in the West Riding. Sir Marmaduke Langdale bore the petition, accompanied by Mr. Aldburgh.

Newcastle refused to move till the support of his army was assured, and stipulated that the Committee of Yorkshire should accompany his army to help and assist by their counsel.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale addressed the following letter to Sir William Savile on 9 November, in regard to his negotiations with Newcastle :

<sup>1</sup> Of Nunappleton, Lord Fairfax's son.

“ We find my Lord of Newcastle very unwilling to adventure his honour and reputation in Yorkshire until he be very well provided of soldiers and officers, whereof he is not yet sufficiently . . . Of that force which is requisite for the work he intends he hath not as yet 3,000 horse and foot, few or no horses for carriage, yet he is getting horses and men every day, and this day hath positively set down to begin his march upon Tuesday next. He hopes to raise as many men in Yorkshire as may increase his army to 10,000 with which he hath some thought of marching southwards, when he hath settled Yorkshire. He promises to guide us into Lincolnshire to requite the kind visit of our neighbours Sir Christopher Wray and Mr. Hatcher, by whose only means our miseries were brought to this height. My Lord expects commanders every day from Holland, but if they come not he will keep his word for Tuesday next to begin his march, which he had begun sooner if the commanders had come. He hath plenty of arms and ammunition for more than he can tell what to do withal, in so much as he must be forced to have a greater guard than he intended for the safety thereof, yet I know he will not spare you either arms or ammunition. Sir William Widdrington is raising men about Alnwick, where he finds much resistance by the Earl of Northumberland's and the Lord Gray's tenants. He took with him some horses and dragoons and this day two field pieces are gone to him. My Lord of Newcastle took this day an opportunity to see his children at Bottell Castle. It may be it was to be further in the county and to be near the danger to prevent the rising of the county, which, as is reported, some of the Highlanders in Tyne-dale



and Risdale (Redesdale) begin to get into small bodies and deny to be raised by any power from my Lord of Newcastle. There is some bodies raised in Scotland, but it is for France as is alleged, but certainly they are in these Northern counties much infected with the hot zeal of Puritanism, and many of them that were raised, upon second thoughts will not come to Newcastle. The like stories Sir Timothy Fetherston tells us out of Westmoreland and Cumberland, alleging that the King hath got the worst of the day and they will not go and be killed. The Parliament is far too nimble for the King in printing; the common people believe the first story which takes impression in their minds, and it cannot be beaten out. I believe my Lord of Newcastle hopes us to raise men in Yorkshire. I must confess it will be an infinite vast charge and trouble to our county, yet seeing our estates must be wasted, I had rather it were wasted by them that will ruin our enemies, than to feed our enemies with our estates and save their own. We talk here much of the Queen's coming over and there is almost every day some coming from her and some from the King to her, and she sends many arms, ammunition, and some money, but I fear her coming is uncertain. There was an ambassador from the King of Denmark come upon Monday last which brought much arms and ammunition and, as is thought, 25,000*l* in money, but he will not confess with money. He is this day gone post towards the King. It is reported he hath brought propositions to the King and Parliament where-unto if the Parliament will not condescend he will send great forces in the spring to aid his Majesty, so we are like to feel the miserable effects of our disagreement the

next summer, which is like to make this kingdom the seat of war for all the nations of Christendom, that as we were in part the first beginners of the wars in Germany, so, I fear, they will all come to make an end of it in this kingdom. We in Yorkshire should have some happiness if we could make an end of the troubles and distractions of our county and so divert the war southwards that whatsoever foreign nations come they may be employed in the South where the wellspring of our miseries began, and where there is pillage enough to satisfy many armies."

In November Newcastle commenced to march into Yorkshire. Captain John Hotham, who had been sent by Fairfax to intercept his march, was defeated in a skirmish at Piercebridge, and obliged to retire. Newcastle was joyfully received and became the popular hero, so much so that the Earl of Cumberland resigned his command to him. Newcastle's force consisted of 6,000 horse and foot and 10 pieces of ordnance. After resting his troops for three days, Newcastle proceeded against Tadcaster with 4,000 horse and foot, and 7 pieces of ordnance, while 200 horse and foot and 3 pieces of ordnance proceeded against Wetherby under the command of the Earl of Newport.

Tadcaster did not long resist: in the night Fairfax withdrew to Cawood and Selby. The battle had been indecisive, but it had forced Fairfax to abandon the attempt to hold the line of the Ouse.

Newcastle strengthened the garrison at Pontefract, despatched troops to occupy Newark, and sent a strong division to invade the West Riding. Newcastle was repulsed from Bradford, and the capture of Leeds by Sir Thomas Fairfax (23 January, 1643) obliged him to return to York and await reinforcements.

## CHAPTER IV

1643

**N**O one adopted the King's cause with greater devotion than Sir Marmaduke Langdale. He raised practically the whole of the East Riding into a loyal force for the King by his fervour, eloquence and personal example. His family was one of the highest respected and most influential in the county, and his own life, passed in honourable God-seeking service, had made a great impression on his humbler neighbours. The tenantry of the Langdale estates flocked eagerly to his standard for the King's service, and the neighbouring tenants of the landed proprietors followed suit. So generous was the willing response to Sir Marmaduke Langdale's appeal for recruits that he was able at very short notice and by his own efforts to raise three companies of foot and a troop of 70 horse. And these he maintained at his own expense. The men of the Riding knew and trusted Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the kinsman of the squire of Houghton.

The campaign recommenced with the siege of Reading, which was taken by Essex, 27 April. On 16 May the Parliamentary forces were beaten at Stratton by the Cornishmen, who followed up their victory by defeating Sir William Waller at Lansdown, 5 July, and at Roundaway Down, 13 July.

News came of the arrival of the Queen off Bridlington Quay, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale marched there with an escort.

The Queen on landing was waited on by the Earl of Newcastle, Lord Ogilby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir John Ramsden and others. That the enemy had not considered sacred the person of the King's consort is evident from the letter the Queen wrote to the King following on her experiences on landing at Bridlington Quay.

“ BURLINGTON

25 February 1643.

“ MY DEAR HEART,

“ As soon as I landed I dispatched Progers to you ; but having learnt to-day that he was taken by the enemy, I send this bearer to give you an account of my arrival, which has been very successful, thank God ; for as rough as the sea was when I first crossed it, it was now calm, till I came within a few leagues of Newcastle ; and on the coast the wind changed to N.W. and obliged us to make for Burlington bay, where, after two days' lying in the road, our cavalry arrived. I immedi-

ately landed, and the next morning the rest of the troops came in. God who protected me at sea, has also done it at land ; for this night four of the parliament ships came in without our knowledge, and at four o'clock in the morning we had the alarm, and sent to the harbour to secure our boats of ammunition ; but about an hour after, these four boats began so furious a cannonading, that they made us get out of our beds, and quit the village to them ; at least us women, for the soldiers behaved very resolutely in protecting the ammunition. I must now play the Captain Bessus, and speak a little of myself. One of these ships did me the favour to flank my house, which fronted the pier, and before I was out of bed the balls whistled over me, and you may imagine I did not like the music. Every body forced me out, the balls beating down our houses ; so, dressed as I could, I went on foot some distance from the village, and got shelter in a ditch, like those we have seen about Newmarket ; but before I could reach it, the balls sung merrily over our heads, and a sergeant was killed twenty paces from me. Under this shelter we remained two hours, the bullets flying over us, and sometimes covering us with earth. At last the Dutch admiral sent to tell them, that, if they did not give over, he would treat them as enemies. This was rather of the latest, but he excused himself on account of a fog. Upon this the parliament ships went off ; and besides, the tide ebbed, and they would have been in shoal water. As soon as they were withdrawn, I returned to my house, not being willing that they should boast of having driven me away. About noon I set out for the town of Burlington, and all this day we have been landing our ammunition.



It is said, one of the parliament captains went before, to reconnoitre my lodging ; and I assure you he had marked it exactly, for he always fired at it. I can say, with truth, that by land and sea, I have been in some danger, but God has preserved me : and I confide in his goodness, that he will not desert me in other things. I protest to you, in this confidence I would face cannon, but I know we must not tempt God. I must now go and eat a morsel ; for I have taken nothing to-day but three eggs and slept very little."

Amongst those who waited upon the Queen to congratulate her on her safe arrival was Captain John Hotham, son of the Governor of Hull, who was sent by his father privately to treat with her respecting terms " should he think of entering into his majesty's views." Hotham was introduced into the Queen's presence, kissed her hand, and afterwards had an interview with the Earl of Newcastle on the subject of surrendering Hull.

Sir John Hotham's resentment against the Parliament was caused through jealousy of Fairfax, who had been appointed general of the Parliamentary forces in the north, an honour he thought himself entitled to after the services he had rendered Parliament in maintaining Hull, at the risk of exposing himself to the King's utmost displeasure. The haughty and imperious Hotham disdained to receive orders or to submit to Fairfax, and Parliament resolved to replace him and

appoint a more tractable Governor for Hull. Sir John Hotham discovered their determination by certain intercepted letters, and had taken deadly umbrage against Parliament.

In the ships which accompanied the Queen from Holland were certain arms and ordnance which she had purchased by sale or pledge of the crown jewels, consisting of 36 pieces of brass ordnance, 2 pieces of iron ordnance, and small arms for 10,000 men. Out of these the men whom Sir Marmaduke Langdale had raised were armed.

Under an escort provided by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the Queen left Bridlington and arrived that night at Malton, where she slept. The following day the Queen reached York. On 8 March the arms and ammunition in 500 carts arrived at the Guildhall, York. Newcastle was obliged to detach a large portion of his troops to escort the Queen to Oxford. Langdale and the northern horse were sounded by Newcastle as to their providing an escort for the Queen, and called a council of war to decide the matter. It ended by an escort being sent of Newcastle's own troops.

Newcastle and the Yorkshire Committee were desirous of gaining over the Hothams and the surrender of Hull without delay, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose late wife had been sister of Sir John Hotham's first wife, the mother of Captain John Hotham, was sent to see if he could

induce the Hothams to surrender. Newcastle wrote asking for a safe passage for Langdale to enter Hull.

Whatever may have been the settled intention of Sir John Hotham, evidently his son was not so sure about the business. Probably they thought it dangerous to their own personal liberty to admit a person of such well-known public sentiments as Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Captain John Hotham stated his faith and his reasons for refusing to accede to Newcastle's request to admit into Hull Sir Marmaduke Langdale in a letter from Hull dated 22 March :

“ I have sent this other letter to excuse me for not granting Sir Marmaduke Langdale a safe conduct, and to deal freely with your Lordship he shall never have one from me, nor do I care to treat with him, I know him too well. For a letter to the Queen, that I certainly came in and at such a time, I cannot do it. This enclosed you may show her, if you please, or else burn, for your Lordship knows that I ever said unto you that I would do anything which might further his Majesty's service in the peace of the Kingdom, and that if Parliament did stand upon unreasonable terms with him, I would then declare myself against them and for him, but otherwise to leave my party that I had set up with, and no real cause given that an honest man may justify himself for so doing before God and the world, I never would do it, although I endured all the extremities in the world, for I know well no man of honour or worth will ever think such

a man worthy of friendship or trust. For the prejudice you undergo for not spoiling the East Riding truly you have put an obligation upon me by sparing it thus long, but rather than your Lordship shall suffer anything of prejudice either in your honour or affairs I shall not desire the thing any longer, but you may take what course you please and we shall do so for our defence. For Sir Hugh Cholmley and his manner of coming in every man must satisfy his own conscience and then all is well, all are not of one mind. If it please God that we ever join and that I be thought worthy your friendship, it shall be seen you have got a friend that will not leave you for every wind or hope or fear. We shall now soon see whether the King will be refused just things, which if he be, I shall take no long time to resolve. If the Parliament offer all fairness and it be obstinately refused truly I will not forsake them, come the worst that can come, for this I conceive is just and honest and from the ground it is not fit for him that values his honour to secede. For my Lord Fairfax I do not think Nevill will speed, for he cannot offer him to be so well as he is, and sure fear will value less for his plain dealing your most humble affectionate servant.

“*Postscript.* For my Lord Dunbar’s son he is delivered as a prisoner to the Mayor’s prison for entertaining a priest, and so I cannot yet release him.”

The other letter referred to was :

“ 22 March, HULL.

“ I have sent this other letter to excuse me for not granting Sir Marmaduke Langdale a safe con-

duct, and to deal freely with your Lordship he shall never have one from me, nor do I care to treat with him, I know him too well."

" 22 *March*, HULL.

" I shall desire you to excuse me that I cannot grant a safe conduct to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, for I am sure his last coming to Malton set people's tongues too much at liberty. Besides if he should be admitted hither all the country hereabouts, that thinks he hath been the cause of their sufferings, would all say that their suspicions are now grown certainties, seeing Sir Marmaduke Langdale admitted but within the walls of Hull."

Sir Marmaduke Langdale wrote to Captain John Hotham and dispatched the letter to Hull.

Captain John Hotham remained resolute. Writing to the Earl of Newcastle on 30 March he stated :

" I have had an instrument from Sir Marmaduke Langdale with long perswasions of his good will and what great things I should have. I gave him many thanks but told I was in such a condition as needed nothing, and so there is an end I thinke."

In the meantime, Parliament having received from their emissaries some information respecting the intentions of the Governor and his son, employed John Saltmarshe, a fanatical Dissenting clergyman, and a kinsman to the Governor of Hull, to try and discover the truth of the matter. By pretending an extraordinary zeal for the Church

and the King, Saltmarshe gained the confidence of Sir John Hotham, who notwithstanding his great circumspection, fell into the snare laid for him. Believing that a man of such seeming sanctity and so near a relation would not betray him, the Governor at length informed him of the plot. Saltmarshe at once communicated the news to Captain Moyer, who commanded a ship-of-war—the *Hercules*—then lying in the Humber. He then transmitted the intelligence to Parliament, who voted him £2,000 for his service, and at the same time sent orders to Captain Moyer and Sir Matthew Boynton to keep watch over the Hothams.

Both the Hothams suffered death for their suspected treachery.

John Saltmarshe, a member of the family of Saltmarshe of Saltmarshe and Thorganby, Yorkshire, had been educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, at the expense of his kinsman, Sir Thomas Metham. He graduated M.A. and left the university about 1639 to become rector of Heselton, Yorkshire, being at that time a zealous advocate of episcopacy and conformity. A change in his views may have been produced by his intimacy with Sir John Hotham. Saltmarshe embraced with ardour the cause of church reform. He was a sincere, if eccentric champion of complete religious liberty. Owing to scruples about taking tithe, he resigned his Yorkshire preferment in



1643, and ultimately handed over to public uses all the tithes he had received.

In April, with depleted forces, Newcastle made a second attempt to secure the West Riding. He occupied Wakefield, Rotherham and Sheffield, but was obliged to abandon the siege of Leeds. On 21 May Sir Thomas Fairfax surprised Wakefield and forced Newcastle to abandon his conquests.

In a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, 24 June, John Hampden received his death wound. His loss was a great blow to the Parliamentarians, and their cause now seemed on the decline. Bristol surrendered to the King, and only Gloucester among the towns of the west remained in the hands of the Parliament.

In June Newcastle returned to the attack, took Howley House (22 June), obtained a decisive victory over the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor (30 June), captured Bradford and subjected all Yorkshire, with the exception of Wressle Castle and Hull, to the King's authority.

After the battle Fairfax and his son sought shelter at Bradford and then at Leeds, after which with a few troops they marched to Selby, where a Royalist troop strove to prevent them crossing the Ouse into the East Riding. Fairfax managed to cross the river and gain the shelter of Wressle Castle on the Derwent, and subsequently made his way to Hull. Sir Thomas Fairfax, separated from

his father in the skirmish, was forced to retreat to Carlton Ferry, Thorne, the Devizes of Hatfield, and so to Crowle, where he rested. Within an hour news came that he was being pursued by Colonel Portington. Sir Thomas Fairfax made haste and crossed the Trent as the Royalist horse arrived at Althorp Ferry. He was scarcely landed on the other side when a Royalist troop from Gainsborough bore down on him, and he only barely escaped, his cloak being dragged from him by one who had caught hold of him. He fled to Barton-on-Humber, and from there sailed to Hull much terrified, and almost spent with loss of blood.

On 11 September commission was granted by Newcastle to Sir Marmaduke Langdale to call a Council of War :

“ William Marquess of Newcastle Governor of the Barone and County of Newcastle and Generall of all his Ma<sup>ts</sup> Forces raised in the Northerne Parts of this Kingdome as also in the several Counties of Nottingham, Lyncolne, Rutland, Derby, Stafford, Licester, Warwicke, Northampton, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Hertford for defence of the same.

“ To S<sup>r</sup> Marmaduke Langdale, Knight, Colonell of the first Brigade of Horse of this Army.

“ By the power and Authorities given unto me by our Sovereigne Lord King Charles under the great Seale of England as Generall of the said Army I doe hereby for the better execution of his Ma<sup>ts</sup> service committed to you charge and authorize

you from time to time as often as you shall consider it needful to somon and call a Court or Councell of ware to consist of such officers as shall be then and there ready to assist you and doe appoint you president of that Councell so often as it shall be called in the absence of the Lord Widdrington President of the Councell of Ware. And further I doe hereby give unto you authority to call the Advocate Generall or in his absence his deputie and to proceede in an orderly waie for . . . by Court Marshall all offenses committed against the orders and articles established for the government of this Army according to the Marshall lawe and to proceede to the execution of what sentence so ever concluded . . . by the said Councell according to yo<sup>r</sup> good discretion for the which this shall bee unto you and every of you . . . a sufficient warrant, Provided that if it may bee done with convenience you make mee acquainted before you proceede to execution of the sentence of death upon anyone, To exercize and enjoy the Authorities aforesaid during my pleasure onely and noe longer hereby charging and requireing the advocate Generall and all other officers properly under your command to be ayding, assistinge and observant to your commands in the execution and performance of the premisses. Given under my hand and seale this eleventh day of September 1643.

“ W. NEWCASTLE.”

The King wished Newcastle to combine immediate forces with him against Essex in June, but in August he seems to have entrusted him with the duty of attacking the eastern association and marching south.

Newcastle now felt himself free to obey the King's command. On his way through Lincolnshire he recaptured Gainsborough (30 July), occupied Lincoln, and threatened to raise the siege of Lynn.

The strategic conception was that the King with his main army should hold Oxford and if possible Reading. Newcastle was to advance from the north, and Hopton from the west, to seize respectively the north and south banks of the Thames below London so as to destroy the commerce of the city which formed the main strength of the Parliament. With the blockade of London success for the Royalist cause seemed assured.

The appeals of the Yorkshire Committee, the reluctance of the local levies to march further from their homes, and the activity of the garrison of Hull in the rear, induced Newcastle to return and besiege Hull.

It was better if Hull could be taken and the Parliamentary influence in Yorkshire broken altogether, and probably Newcastle and Langdale thought the matter feasible. Newcastle laid siege to Hull. Langdale's preparedness prevented a surprise sortie made by the garrison on the besiegers from being a success, and they were driven back with considerable loss. The siege lasted from 2 September to 12 October, when Cromwell's victory at Winceby over the division which Newcastle

had left in Lincolnshire (11 October) forced him to give up the attempt at regaining Hull. Lincolnshire was entirely lost.

Newcastle was adversely criticised by the King's party for this breach of orders and desired to resign his command. The King would not hear of it.

Hopton succeeded little better. The Cornishmen under his command were drawn back by the desire of checking the Governor of Plymouth, and the King, left with an insufficient force to march unsupported upon London, had no choice but to undertake the siege of Gloucester.

Gloucester made a gallant defence, and Essex by forced marches succeeded in raising the siege, the Royalists retiring on his approach. The first battle of Newbury followed, was indecisive, and failed to hinder the return of Essex to London.

In December Langdale intercepted certain open letters that were passing between Colonel Hutchinson, the Parliamentary commander of Nottingham, and Colonel Dacre, indignantly refusing to consider certain proposals made to him by Colonel Dacre with the consent of Newcastle, who was desirous of gaining over the Hutchinsons. Sir Marmaduke Langdale replied to this letter, and the tone of his reply was such as to call forth the approval of so Puritan a leader as Colonel Hutchinson. The



letter is interesting as portraying Langdale's sturdy independence of character and his devotion to the King, and gives the reasoning that had led him to serve the King so faithfully.

*" For John Hutchinson Esquire, George Hutchinson and Thomas Poulton, these.*

" GENTLEMEN,

" In the absence of Colonel Dacre, I have received your letters and am sorry you so mistake Colonel Dacre his affection for you, in endeavouring to draw you from that rebellious course of life you seem to glory in. If you please to read all the histories of this nation, from the conquest to this time, and you shall find all rebels' pretences of taking up arms against the sacred person of the King varnished over with the title of love to the laws of the land, liberty of the subject and loyalty to his majesty ; yea in those times when they deposed their natural prince and set up others ; wherein although the event sometimes succeeded for a while, yet the authors had cause commonly to repent before their deaths ; and certainly there never was yet law of this land, nor religion publicly professed here, did ever allow subjects to take up arms against their natural sovereign. For his excellency the Marquess of Newcastle, you are much mistaken in his desire to corrupt any man. I rather believe it was his affection to you, having known two of your fathers, and his desire to preserve your estates that are now in a lost condition by your own follies. For my own part, as I am known to you, so I should never have tendered you that good offer, but will go on in that way that I doubt not shall gain the King his right forth of



the usurper's hand wherever I find it, wherein you shall find a gentleman called

"MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

"WEST HALLAM,

"December 18, 1643."

For some time negotiations had been in progress between Parliament and the Scotch to induce the latter to join in the war against the King, and Sir Harry Vane was sent to Edinburgh to arrange terms. It was then agreed that there should be a unity of religion between the two countries, and that the Presbyterian form of worship should take the place of the Church of England. An Assembly of Divines met at Westminster to carry out the project. The Scotch agreed to furnish an army of 21,000 men, to be paid by the English Parliament. This compact was known as the Solemn League and Covenant, which John Saltmarshe hailed in a prose pamphlet and in verse entitled *A Divine Rapture*.

Hitherto the Presbyterians had been the dominant power in Parliament, but a sect called Independents was now rising into power in the army. Both parties were opposed to the Established Church and to the system of government by bishops or, as they termed it, prelacy, but this was the only point on which they agreed. The Presbyterians had their own mode of church government by means of ministers and elders; but the Independents looked upon every congre-

gation as a church in itself perfectly independent of any control from any other power. The most distinguished supporter of this sect was Oliver Cromwell,<sup>1</sup> a member of the House of Commons, who through force of circumstances had become a soldier in the army of the Parliament.

Cromwell had noted that in the early encounters between the horse-soldiers of the King and those of the Parliament, the former were invariably victorious. He therefore set himself to raise a regiment of horse<sup>2</sup> in the eastern counties, which became known as Cromwell's Ironsides, and formed the nucleus of an army which was to gain many

<sup>1</sup> Oliver Cromwell was the son of Robert Cromwell and Elizabeth Stuart, and was born in Huntingdon, 5 April, 1599. His father was the younger son of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook, who was grandson of Thomas Cromwell's sister.

Oliver Cromwell was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and afterwards removed to Lincoln's Inn. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier. In 1628 he was Member of Parliament for Huntingdon, and in 1640 was returned for Cambridge. At an early period he attached himself to the popular party.

<sup>2</sup> A letter of Cromwell to Sir William Springe and Maurice Barrows regarding military instructions:

"I beseech you bee careful what captaines of horse you chuse, what men bee mouted. A few honest men are better than numbers.

" . . . If you choose Godly honest men to bee captaines of horse, honest men will follow them. . . . I had rather have a plaine russett-coated captaine, who knows what hee fights for and loves what he knowes than that what you call a gentleman and is nothinge else."

victories for the Parliament and ultimately bring Cromwell to supreme power.

### 1644

On 24 January Prince Rupert was created Duke of Cumberland and Earl of Holderness for his services to the English crown. He also held the titles of Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria.

On 25 January some Irish regiments which had been sent over by the King's lieutenant in Ireland were defeated at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

The Scotch invaded England, and Newcastle was called north to oppose them. He could not prevent the passage of the Tyne. On 19 February Sir Marmaduke Langdale defeated the Scotch cavalry at Corbridge, Northumberland.

Newcastle notified the victory in a despatch to the King :

"The 19th February 1644 Sir Marmaduke Langdale fell upon the Parliament quarters at Corbridge in Northumberland ; but the enemy having timely notice of his coming were drawn into a field. He thereupon sent troops to second those that first entered the town, who charged the enemy, but the enemy with their lancers forced them to retreat. He sent more, but the enemy charged them gallantly, but durst not pursue them because of our reserve. At last he rallied his

forces, and taking about 200 foot with him forced the enemy to retreat. He routed them totally, and followed the chase 3 miles, killing about 200 and taking about 150 prisoners, besides divers officers slain. . . . There were fifteen of their troop of horse, and three troops of dragoons. Major-General David Leslie, the Earl of Leven's son, was their General, who is shot through the shoulder. There are two horse colours and a dragoon colour taken."

The result of this defeat compelled the withdrawal of the Scots north of Newcastle.

Newcastle's plan was to hold Newcastle-on-Tyne and to prevent provisions being accessible to the Scotch invaders. Crops in the district around were destroyed. It was essential that the Scotch should be prevented from advancing into England and effecting a juncture with the Parliamentary forces.

The severity of the weather was ruinous to Newcastle's forces.

In the absence of Newcastle from York, John Lord Belasyse, Newcastle's lieutenant-general, assumed command of the Royalist troops in Yorkshire and the government of York.

Great disorder existed at York at this time owing to factions and discontent occasioned by the ill-government and bad discipline of Newcastle's army. Belasyse composed the people, rectified the abuses, and rallied the horse troops who were

loosely scattered about the county. He formed three general head-quarters for the horse: at Leeds for the West Riding, Malton for the East Riding, and York for the North Riding; settled considerable garrisons of foot at Halifax, Doncaster, Leeds, Stamford Bridge, and other places, and reinforced the garrisons at the castles and forts.

The Parliamentary forces were very active, embodied themselves into one force under the command of Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Lambert, and fell upon Yorkshire.

This obliged Belasyse to draw all his troops together and assemble at Selby, where he formed an army of 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse. A bridge of boats was constructed across the Ouse at Selby to communicate with the East Riding.

Belasyse with 1,000 foot and 500 horse joined Sir George Lucas, who had 1,000 horse, in an attack on Lambert at Bradford. Lambert made a gallant sally and broke through the Royalist horse, commanded on that side of the town by Colonel George Porter, and escaped to Halifax. Pursuit of Lambert continued until late at night, when with ammunition spent, the Royalist force drew back to Leeds.

Soon after Sir Thomas Fairfax with 2,000 horse from Lancaster, where he had lately defeated Lord Byron's forces, joined his father's and

Lambert's forces from Hull in the Isle of Axholme, advanced against Belasyse at Selby and attacked him (11 April).

The defeat of the army in Yorkshire obliged Newcastle to make a hurried retreat to York.

The Scotch army marched through the west of England, and effected a juncture with the armies of Fairfax and Manchester.

Peremptory orders of the King in response to urgent appeals obliged Rupert to march to the relief of York and the assistance of Newcastle and the northern army.

“ If York be lost,” wrote the King on 14 June, “ I shall esteem my crown little less ; unless supported by your sudden march to me and a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of their northern power can be found here. But if York be relieved and you beat the rebel army of both kingdoms, which are before it ; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift upon the defensive to spin out time until you come to assist me.”

On the way north Rupert relieved Newark and Lathom House. Marching by way of Skipton, Knaresborough and Boroughbridge, he outmanœuvred the besieging army, and effected a juncture with Newcastle at York without fighting.

He followed up the retreating Parliamentary forces so closely that he forced them to turn and give battle at Marston Moor (2 July).



Newcastle was adverse to fighting and vainly urged Rupert to await the arrival of expected reinforcements, or the separation of the three armies opposed to him. Rupert construed the King's letter as a command to fight.

In the centre the battle was long and stubborn ; on the left wing the northern horse commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale under General Goring were victorious ; but on the right Rupert's horse after a dashing charge were routed by Cromwell, who then defeated Goring and crushed the Royalist foot. Four thousand Royalists were killed and 1,500 were taken prisoners. Rupert commanded the right wing in person, narrowly escaped capture, and the white poodle which was his inseparable companion was killed.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale's nephew, Langdale Sunderland, commanded a troop of horse under his uncle in the battle. Newcastle,<sup>1</sup> himself, held no command in the battle, and fought as a volunteer at the head of a troop of gentlemen, distinguishing himself by his courage. The next day he announced his intention of leaving England. He was utterly tired of his employment and " transported with passion and despair " at the way in

<sup>1</sup> Newcastle's regiment of Northumbrians, known as "lambs" or "whitecoats" from the colour of their doublets, resisted Cromwell to the last, and disdaining all offers of quarter, perished almost to a man.

which the army he had so painfully raised had been thrown away. When Rupert urged him to recruit his forces, he replied that he would not endure "the laughter of the Court." Accordingly he set sail from Scarborough a few days later, and landed at Hamburg 8 July.

York surrendered a fortnight later following the battle (16 July).

This defeat lost the King the north of England.

The throwing of the Scotch sword into the balance had turned the scale against the King.

After the battle, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with what was left of his division—all that was left of the army of the north was some 2,000 men and officers—retreated through Westmorland and Cumberland, then turned south into Lancashire for Chester with the intention of joining Rupert. He was much harassed by the Parliamentary troops.

Lord Byron, in command in Cheshire, hoped to take advantage of the presence of Langdale to force the Parliamentary troops out of those parts in order to securely hold Chester. An unnecessary encounter at Ormskirk, 21 August, was only saved by Langdale's skill from becoming a defeat instead of a retreat. Byron desired Langdale and his horse to remain at Wrexham and support him in Cheshire, but this was impossible, owing to lack of provisions and fodder. The people purposely held back supplies with the intention of diverting the war

from their neighbourhood. On 26 August, Langdale was attacked at Malpas and was wounded. Even so, Langdale managed to beat off the Parliamentarians and at last brought his horse into quarters in Monmouthshire, and joined up with Rupert.

A report had got about in the Parliamentary quarters after Malpas that Langdale was dangerously wounded, had been captured and taken to Chester, and the Committee of both Kingdoms sitting at Derby House informed Lord Essex to that effect.

In October Rupert despatched Langdale and Gerard to the King at Oxford, and they assisted at the relief of Banbury Castle.

In the south the Royalist cause had prospered on the whole.

An attempt to push Hopton with a fresh army through Sussex and Kent to the south bank of the Thames was frustrated by the defeat of that army at Cheriton (29 March).

On 29 June the King, who had left Oxford, defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge in Buckinghamshire, and subsequently compelled the surrender of Essex's infantry at Lostwithiel on 2 September. The King's wish to avoid unnecessary bloodshed prevented him from insisting, as he might have done, upon more than the delivery of the arms and stores of the force which he had

overpowered. He had consequently to meet the army of Essex again in combination with that of Waller and Manchester at the second battle of Newbury on 27 October. Night came on as the King was getting the worst of the fray; under cover of darkness he retreated his army, succeeded in revictualling Donnington Castle and Basing House, and entered Oxford on 23 November.

In Scotland, the Marquess of Montrose, who had taken up arms for the King in Scotland, gained the battle of Tippermuir.

Laud, who had lain in prison for some time apparently forgotten, was brought to trial this year. The Archbishop made a spirited defence, was condemned by a Bill of Attainder as Strafford had been, and executed in January, 1645.

## CHAPTER V

1645

**T**HE whole character of the war was now changed, mainly through the influence of Cromwell. Hitherto, in Cromwell's own words, the first leaders of the Parliamentary army "were afraid to conquer." This was specially noted in the second battle of Newbury, when Cromwell was restrained from making a decisive charge by Lord Manchester, the commander of the Parliamentary forces.

Cromwell now sought to reorganise the army on the model he had followed in founding his regiment of Ironsides. His first step was to secure a change of officers, and in order to remove the old leaders, who were generally members of the two Houses of Parliament, he introduced a Bill called the Self-denying Ordinance, which made it illegal for members of Parliament to hold military command. The Bill passed, and led to the retirement of Essex, Waller, Manchester and Fairfax. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made commander-in-chief. Cromwell, by special leave of the Commons and

under special circumstances, retained his command in the army.

The commencement of the year was marked by negotiations between the King and Parliament at Uxbridge, and certain concessions had been promised by the King when news came that Montrose had gained a victory in Scotland. The King withdrew the concessions he had promised and war recommenced.

The King's efforts were concentrated into an attempt to check the advance of the Scotch by procuring money and arms, and if possible an army from the Duke of Lorraine. He hoped also to induce the Irish to lend him 10,000 men. The Irish stipulated the independence of the Irish Parliament and the Catholic Church in Ireland for granting troops, and the King refused to comply with their demands. Negotiations with Lorraine also fell through. All the external aid the King could command was that of Montrose who, with a small body of Irish and Scotch Highlanders, continued to win astonishing victories in the north of Scotland.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale's northern horsemen were anxious to return north to the relief of their friends and fellow-countrymen in Pontefract Castle, the one solitary fortress that still held for the King in the north, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale wrote to Prince Rupert on 12 January, 1645 :



"I beseech your highness let not our countrymen upbraid us with ungratefullness in deserting them, but rather give us leave to try what we can do ; it will be some satisfaction to us that we die amongst them in revenge of their quarrells."

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was allowed to try, marched north, and defeated Colonel Rossiter at Melton Mowbray on 25 February. Fairfax, who attempted to intercept his march, was also repulsed and his forces chased from Kelford to Doncaster. Langdale raised the siege of Pontefract on 1 March, to discover that his sister's husband Abraham Sunderland had died during the siege in the Castle.

Among others who died during the siege of Pontefract Castle while it was held for the King was James Washington, son and heir of Darcy Washington of Ardwicke, Yorkshire. He had matriculated at University College, Oxford, 14 October, 1631, at the age of seventeen, and was a member of Lincoln's Inn, 1633. He was the great-great-grandfather of George Washington, who was baptised at Arksey on 10 October, 1743.

Rupert was notified of the relief of Pontefract in the following letter :

"May it please your Highness,

"Colonel Mason was importunate to wait on your Highness with such letters as were to be sent from the officers of the Northern Horse, but finding him very slow in a case of this importance, I sent this gentleman to receive orders from your Highness





whether we shall come unto you ; we are now at Bingham, and intend to march on towards Shrewsbury, as your Highness sent us orders, if I receive no other order to the contrary. For the success of our march it hath been prosperous beyond expectation ; we routed Rosseter's forces at Melton Mowbray, and drove the Yorkshire forces from Kelford to Doncaster, and from thence to Pontefract, where we had a sharp and long conflict with them, but God gave us the victory ; we killed two hundred and odd, took five hundred prisoners, there were drowned five hundred. About twenty colours, thirty-four barrels of powder, and one piece of cannon, are taken, besides a great store of all manner of ammunition and arms, but there are letters coming to your Highness that will relate the business more at large, we have accomplished our desire in the relief of Pontefract castle, and find the country infinitely willing to come in if we might have staid, but we all are, and ever will be, at your Highness's command, whereof one is your Highness's

“ Most faithful and humble servant

“ MAR. LANGDALE.

“ BINGHAM, *6th March, Thursday,*

“ *4 of the clock, 1645.*”

The relieving of Pontefract Castle was the most brilliant piece of soldiership during the war, and the determined manner in which Langdale won his way there showed the highest sagacity and military skill. The besieging army commanded by Lambert was superior in numbers to the Royalists. The northern horse were driven back again and

again by a galling fire, but gallantly returned to the attack with grim determination. The garrison assisted the attacking force by a sally in the rear of the Parliamentary force. The stores of war taken served to supply the castle in preparation for a renewed siege which was undertaken a month later.

After the victory Sir Marmaduke Langdale proceeded to Bridgenorth and joined Prince Maurice and Sir Jacob Astley, who had suffered loss at Shrewsbury when the Royalist line of communication with Chester had been broken.

In May the King left his base at Oxford with the intention of marching north, and the northern horse rejoiced at the prospect of being back in their own county. Reaching Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, on 8 May, a Council of War was held, and another plan was mooted. Sir Thomas Fairfax was reported to be marching to the relief of Taunton, and it was thought that an enveloping attack might be made on him. Langdale wished to proceed north according to the original plan, and Prince Rupert threw his influence to further that arrangement. A compromise was arranged, and it was decided that Rupert and Langdale should advance northwards, and that Goring should go to the west and check Fairfax.

The King besieged Leicester. Langdale with his troop of 1,400 horse took up a position between

Coventry and Leicester to prevent provisions being taken to the garrison, and drove back a body of Parliamentary horse who attempted to break through the invading force. He had charge of the reserve in the assault. Fairfax was recalled from the west to lay siege to Oxford, hoping to compel the King's return. Cromwell thought that the King was threatening the Eastern Association.

The forward movement of the Royalist army was checked by the news from Oxford. The King considered it dangerous to leave his base of operations in imminent danger of capture, and it was therefore resolved to return and raise the siege, leaving a garrison at Leicester.

The spirits of the northern horse fell at this unexpected and unpopular change in their plans. They refused to obey orders, and only the utmost efforts of Langdale and the King himself induced them to follow.

On the approach of the King, Fairfax retired.

It was thought that the King should now return to Leicester, leaving a larger garrison at Oxford, and recruit his army on the journey north. Some days elapsed before it was finally decided to fall back on Leicester, there to await Fairfax or continue the march northward. On arrival at Harborough the King had news that Fairfax was in the near neighbourhood.



On 14 June, 1645, was fought the battle of Naseby.

The King's forces consisted of 3,500 foot and 4,000 horse, with 12 pieces of cannon. The order of battle was as follows :

The First line of the Right wing consisted of three Divisions of Cavalry under Prince Maurice, supported by one hundred musketeers. In order came :

1. Prince Rupert's and Prince Maurice's troops.
2. Prince Rupert's Regiment.
3. The Queen's and Prince Maurice's Regiment.

The Second line of the Right wing consisted of two Divisions of Horse, with one hundred musketeers, in the following order :

4. The Earl of Northampton's Regiment.
5. Sir William Vaughan's Regiment.

The Infantry, inclusive of the Reserve, consisted of nine Divisions.

Sir Bernard Ashley's force comprised three Divisions, namely :

6. Duke of York's Regiment.
7. Colonel Hopton's Regiment.
8. Colonel Payd's Regiment.

Sir Henry Baerd's force consisted of two Divisions, namely :

9. Sir Henry Baerd's and Colonel Thomas's Regiments.

10. Sir John Owen's and Colonel Gerrerd's Regiments.

Sir George Lisle's force consisted of two Divisions, namely :

11. Sir George Lisle's and St. George's Regiments.

12. The Shrewsbury Foot commanded by Colonel Smith.

13 } Three Divisions of Horse commanded by  
14 } Colonel Howard, placed between the Divi-  
15 } sion of Foot.

The First line of the Left wing consisted of three Divisions of Horse and one hundred musketeers.

16 }  
17 } Commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale.  
18 }

The Second line of the Left wing consisted of two Divisions of Horse and one hundred musketeers commanded by Colonel Carey.

19. Colonel Carey's Regiment.

20. One of the Yorkshire Regiments of Horse.

The Reserve comprised :

21 } Two Divisions of Horse commanded by Sir  
25 } Richard Wallis.

22. His Majesty's Regiment of Foot.

23. His Majesty's Life Guards (Horse).

24. Prince Rupert's Regiment of Foot.

The Parliamentary army was led by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and outnumbered the King's force by almost two to one. Sir Marmaduke Langdale commanded the King's left wing, facing Cromwell, and his Ironsides.

The northern horse advanced to the attack with great resolution, and made a difficult uphill charge, which was met by terrible onslaught on the part of Cromwell's horse, and scattered.

Rupert, victorious in his charge, engaged in

pursuit, and the foot under Sir Jacob Astley were left unsupported. When Rupert returned to the field he and Langdale got together what remained of the horse, made a second charge and were easily repulsed.

The day was lost. Three thousand Royalists were killed, 5,000 surrendered, and all the baggage and artillery were taken. It was the last great battle the King was to fight.

Lord Goring in the west was set on by the Parliamentarians; the infantry were cut off at Torrington and other places, and the cavalry surrendered themselves upon dishonourable terms, although no fewer than 4,500. They might have broken through and saved themselves. It is stated that it was more from the disorders of the officers than the soldiers that Goring's army was destroyed.

The King, with his own guard, and a few officers, retired to Leicester.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale's remnants of horse now formed the King's strongest arm. No stay was made by the King at Leicester, who marched on to Ashby and then to Hereford and Raglan Castle in the hope of recruiting new infantry in Wales. On his arrival in Wales the King found Goring's remaining forces disposed of, having crossed the Severn, while others had been sent to supply different garrisons in the west,

and to Rupert, who had shut himself up in Bristol.

The King contemplated joining Goring in the west, but various difficulties presented themselves. Bristol surrendered to Fairfax, 11 September, and the King's cause in the west was ruined.

The King was urged to march north with his cavalry in the hope that levies of infantry might then be raised. Montrose and his Scotch-Irish force, who had gained a victory at Kilsyth near Stirling, 21 August, came south and besieged Hereford. This occasioned the King to suppose it feasible to go north with what horse he had (about 3,000), and to attempt the relief of such garrisons as still held for him, including Pontefract and Scarborough.

The King attempted to raise the siege of Chester. At Rowton Heath near by, Langdale encountered Major-General Poyntz and suffered loss (13 October). The King arrived at Newark.

The King's fortunes were at low ebb. Montrose had retreated to the borders. The King marched to Welbeck, a house of Lord Newcastle's garrisoned for the King, and held a council of war, as to whether he should hazard a march to Scotland and join Montrose, or return to Oxford and endeavour a treaty of peace with the Parliament. The Duke of Richmond, the Earl of

Lindsey, Lord Gerrard, John Ashburnham, and Sir Richard Wallis, Governor of Newark, advised the latter project. The Earl of Bristol, Lord Ashley, Lord Belasyse, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale were prepared with strong reasons for the first. The King declared his resolution for marching into Scotland, and orders were given to rendezvous next morning in Worksop Park. That morning an express arrived from Berwick to the effect that Montrose and his army were beaten, and retreated beyond Stirling. The King returned to Newark, and then to Oxford.

From Newark, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, along with Lord Digby and some 1,500 horse, started north. This little force was defeated at Sherburn in Yorkshire on 13 October. Langdale made a speech to his soldiers before the fight telling them that some people "scandalised their gallantry for the loss of Naseby field," and that now was the time to redeem their reputation.

A second defeat from Sir John Browne at Carlisle sands completely scattered the little force, and Langdale, Digby and other officers embarked at Ravenglass and got over to the Isle of Man in a "cock-boat."

Following the escape of Langdale and other Royalists, the Committee of both Kingdoms addressed from Derby House to the Earl of

Derby<sup>1</sup> on 29 November the following letter :

“ We are given to understand by this bearer, who in his passage from Ireland lately visited your Lordship in the Isle of Man, that you are desirous to procure the peace of the kingdoms. We conceive nothing likely to conduce more immediately thereto, or be more acceptable to the Parliaments of both kingdoms, than the delivery up to them of George, Lord Digby, Robert Maxwell, late Earl of Nithsdale, Sir Robert Dalzell, late Earl of Carnwath, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir W. Huddleston, and other persons now in your power, who have been the greatest causers of these troubles, which, if you shall do, we will do our best to procure your reconciliation with the Parliament, otherwise your Lordship is not to expect from us any further invitation. We desire your answer by this bearer. Sent by Capt Roger West.”

To this letter Derby vouchsafed no reply. By this time Sir Marmaduke Langdale and other of the King's commanders had left Man and arrived in Ireland.

T. Maule, writing to Sir Philip Percivall from Dublin on 29 December, stated :

“ I wrote at large two months ago.

“ Here landed my Lord Digby a month ago from

<sup>1</sup> James Stanley, 7th Earl of Derby. He married, 26 June, 1626, Charlotte, daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars. She is famous for her gallant defence of Lathom House in 1644, when she was besieged by 2,000 Parliamentarians, and for her energetic protection of the Isle of Man. She died 21 March, 1663.



the Isle of Man (October), Sir Marmaduke Langdale and fifty other commanders, and all of them commanded horse. They were all very bare, for they lost all that they had at the business of Sharrbourne (Sherburn) in Yorkshire, so much that my Lord lost his coach and all his horses and his sumpter and all his money and papers ; so that every colonel, lieut-colonel and major hath got five pounds, and every captain hath got three pounds since their coming here, which makes our soldiers fare the worse for it and cry out vilely. My Lord Digby begins now to rail at the Irish for deceiving the King and not performing what they promised, but yet for all that we are working for a peace. The Cessation hath taken on again till the 17th of the next month, and then we hope by that time that we shall be able to send you over supply and relief, which I much doubt will not be performed."

## 1646

In May Sir Marmaduke Langdale landed in France and joined the Royalist refugees.

Prince Rupert, whose impetuosity had done much to cause the fatal reverse to the King's forces at Marston Moor and Naseby, left England, on 5 July, and arrived on the Continent.

The King on taking refuge in Oxford had been immediately besieged by Fairfax. After submitting to an eight months' siege, fearing for his safety should Oxford fall, the King left Oxford on

26 April and surrendered himself to the Scotch army at Newark.

After the surrender of Oxford John Saltmarshe, who had become an army chaplain that year, and was attached to Sir Thomas Fairfax, preached at St. Mary's.

The Scotch retired to Newcastle-on-Tyne, taking the King along with them. Negotiations between the Scotch at Newcastle and the Parliament resulted finally in an agreement by which the Scotch received £400,000 in payment for their past services. They were to retire into Scotland and leave the King in the hands of the Parliamentary commissioners. This arrangement was carried out 30 January, 1647.

## 1647

Immediately the King was secured, the Presbyterians in Parliament began to take steps for the disbanding of the army. This was resisted by both officers and men. The King was at first confined at Holmby, near Northampton. When the quarrel arose between the army and Parliament, Cornet Joyce with a troop of horse suddenly removed the King to Triplo Heath near Cambridge, where the army was encamped. The soldiers then marched to London, taking the King along with them.

In the negotiations that followed both the army and the Parliament made overtures to the King. The King, thinking to take advantage of the quarrel, rejected the proposals. A violent feeling then grew up in the army against the King. He fled from Hampton Court where he was confined and placed himself in the hands of the Governor of Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight, where he was put under vigorous guard.

It is said that Sir Marmaduke Langdale secretly returned to England and visited the King at Hampton Court, where he was a prisoner. Langdale was very clever at adopting disguises.

John Saltmarshe and William Dell, another spiritual writer and theologian, had the ear of the army, and the dissatisfaction which Saltmarshe felt with the result of his experience in church government was increased by his personal knowledge of the temper of the army.

On 4 December, Saltmarshe roused himself from what he deemed a trance, left his abode at Caystreet, near Great Ilford, Essex, and hastened to London on horseback. After twice missing his way he arrived at Windsor army headquarters.

Retaining his hat in Fairfax's presence he prophesied that "the army had departed from God." Next day (9 December) he returned to Ilford.

Two days later he died and was buried at Wanstead, Essex, 15 December. "He was one," says Fuller, "of a fine and active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher."

## CHAPTER VI

1643

### BERWICK AND PONTEFRACT

**I**N 1648 risings in favour of the King took place in Wales and in different parts of England. The Scotch were also becoming dissatisfied with the treatment the King had received since being handed over to the Parliament. Certain Parliamentary ships revolted and were taken over by Prince Charles at a Dutch port.

Taking advantage of this feeling Sir Marmaduke Langdale was despatched to Scotland with a commission from Charles, Prince of Wales, directing him to observe the orders of the Earls of Lauderdale and Lanark.

On 28 April Sir Marmaduke Langdale surprised Berwick, quickly raised a body of northern Royalists, and published a "Declaration for the King."

The  
Declaration  
of

Sir Marmaduke Langdale Knight,  
Colonel-Generall;

And of the Gentlemen, and other  
Loyall Subjects now in action  
for His Majesties Service in the  
Northern parts.

Whereas we are entered into this present Engagement, that our real intentions may not be mis-judged, but the integrity and candor of them may be apparent to the whole Kingdom, we have thought it necessary to publish this Declaration, together with the reasons and grounds of our present Actions, and what we onely aim at and expect from our endeavours herein. And first we shall begin with the true Motives that have put us upon this War ; which are, That after the Forces raised by his Majesties Commissions were disbanded, and the Scotch Army quietly marched away into their own Kingdom, and when it might justly have been expected that the two Houses of Parliament should have proceeded according to their many Declarations towards settling Religion, and a sound and welgrounded Peace, restoring the King's Majesty to his Throne, just Rights, and his full freedom, and to the glory and splendor of his royall Ancestors ; that the Queen and Prince might have been invited to return, and all Armies disbanded, the people eased of Excise, Free-quarter, and all intolerable burthens and pressures : Contrary to their expectations, the Schismatical Army under the Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax first refused to disband, seised on the Person of his Majesty against



his will, carried him up and down, until he was forced to fly for his life, and since that time his sacred Person hath been barbarously and tyrannously imprisoned, and such Bills and Propositions offered unto him, as would pull down the glory of the Crown, and leave the Subjects so ashamed as will render us a Nation servile, and scorn of the world ; and to these Propositions the Kingdom of Scotland were so far from giving their consent, that before the sending of them they made their Protestation against them : which this whole Kingdom hath reason to look upon as an action that manifested their eminent Loyalty towards his Majesty, and that had right regard to the happinesse and peace of this Kingdom. His Majesty is, and long hath been a close prisoner, and inhumanely denied that freedom which is allowed to most notorious Murtherers and Malefactors, the comfort of his Royal Consort and Children ; and without the assistance of his loyal Subjects, destitute of any hope of enlargement or relief ; and certainly it should inflame our Loyalties herein, knowing what mean respects, nay barbarous violence hath been offered to his sacred Person by the Governour of the Isle of Wight ; and yet we hear not that he hath had any check for it, but must beleieve we are well dealt with that he hath not received publick thanks for it. And doubtless these men have dealt the same measure to the whole Kingdom, there being neither Justice nor Law found against them ; but all our lives and estates being in the Arbitrary power of such Judicatures and Committees as have palpably intended the improving of their fortunes and lives, by unlawfull power to tyranize over us. And that which they have most pretended to be a *Noli me tangere*, Priviledge of

Parliament, they have so much abased and suffered to be violated, as no time or story of the Nation can parallel.

Having thus briefly laid down these our unsupportable sufferings, which are known to be apparently true, and much more numerous than here we express them ; we shall now offer what may be Remedies to these great evils, and what may re-instate us in that happinesse and glory that we have formerly injoyed, and for which we declare that we are entred into this present Engagement.

1. That his Majesty may be restored to his Ancient Royal Rights.

2. That we may enjoy a free Parliament ; to settle all differences in Church and Commonwealth.

3. That all Armies may be disbanded, the people eased of Excise, Free quarter, and all other burthens and pressures.

4. That the known Laws of the Land may freely flourish amongst us, which are the only security of the subjects Propriety.

5. That the Union betwixt the Kingdoms of England and Scotland may be preserved according to the Act of Pacification.

These are the things which we shall persue, and for this end we desire the assistance of all our fellow Subjects : and we professe that we shall make no distinction of persons, in relation to the former differences betwixt the King and the two Houses, but shall cordially and cheerfully imbrace their joyning with us in the prosecution of these ends, and shall endeavour the payment of all such Arrears as are due to all such Officers and Souldiers on either side as shall joyn with us ; and an Act of Oblivion for all acts done since the beginning of the Parliament to all parties.

Lastly, we shall give just satisfaction to all our fellow-Subjects, that we take not up arms without the Authority of Law ; for we have derived all our Commissions from his Highness the Prince of Wales, &c. And we shall manifest to all the world, that all our actions shall aim at the Peace and Happiness of this miserable distracted Kingdom ; and that in prosecution of this War we shall severely punish all, under our Command that shall use any plunder, or offer any violence to those that give us their assistance for so pious and just a work. And we hope, that possessing our selves of the Towns of Berwick and Carlisle will be thought very just and necessary, when we do upon great certainty and assurance let the Kingdom know, that if our Forces had not surprised those Towns at the instant of time, they would have been immediately possessed by those that are the troublers of the Kingdoms Peace and Happiness.

This Proclamation was distributed to the chief Royalists in the country with a covering letter from Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Thomas Glenham, the Declaration distributed in the north bearing the signature of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and that in the south bearing that of Sir Thomas Glenham.

“ SIR,

“ In the behalf of his Highness the Prince of Wales we recommend unto your care the publishing of what is here enclosed, giving you hearty thanks for your constancy and fidelity to his Highness, not doubting, but ere long you will have the happiness to kiss his hand. Our affairs go on

prosperously here. God grant the like to you. As we were writing unto you, a messenger came to us from his Highness, who is ready at Callis to take shipping for Holland, so that within this week we expect his presence here. We have nothing of consequence to impart at present unto you, but we are, Sir,

“ Your humble servants,  
 “ M.L. T.G.”

The authority for the Declaration was a letter from Prince Charles to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Thomas Glenham, dated “ S. Jermans, Jun 18, 1648,” signed “ C.P.”

“ Trusty and well-beloved, I greet you well, requiring you to communicate the inclosed to the publique ; I rejoyce your affairs prosper, I hasten to be with you : engage not too far before I come ; yet make the best advantage of opportunity. Use the Country with all civility ; refuse none that come in upon submission : keep the soldiers from committing violence, and God prosper your proceedings.”

“ I.K.,” a native of Berwick, “ sometime a Preacher of God’s word there,” preached in the parish church at a largely attended service held in commemoration of the taking of the city. Colonel-General Sir Marmaduke Langdale attended with his officers and men and many of the townspeople.

“ I.K.” took his text from 2 Corinthians, chapter xxxv., verse 25 : “ And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah.”

“The Sphere of this Text,” said the preacher, “is Lamentation; the Poles whereon it moves, Josiah and Jeremiah: In the upper the etheriall part of this sphere wee see the blood of Josiah; in the nether the watry hemisphere, wee have the tears of Jeremiah. And the cælestiall Spheres have their first moover above them: So is there in this Text a third person, the Spirit of God: who oneley being above the King and the Prophet placed heere in the Firmament of his word, and by this his Testimony hath consolidated the blood of Josiah, and the teares of Jeremiah into fixt Starres; wherein all men may reade their common condition, and Kingdomes calculate their owne Nativities and dissolution: So in this dark Sphere of Lamentation, Josiah dying, Jeremiah crying, wee finde yet the Spirit of God as testifying; though in the cold Region of the revolting Judah both King and Prophet be eclipsed, the one by death, the other by sorrow; yet are they heere caught up into the cleere Orbe of the Scripture (*turres eruti de igne*) and there memorated to all Prosterities by the unclouded testimony of the spirit of God; in whose sight since the death of his Saints is precious, and he puts all theer teares into his bottle; therefore are these things noted in his booke, therefore are Josiah and Jeremiah recorded heere as Monuments, and their blood and teares turned into Rubies and Pearles, to make Bracelets to adorne the Spouse of Christ.

“Here first wee see in Mourning and dying the condition of us all in this world, sorrow and death play all our game. *Lugemus, aut lugemur, omnes in vicem*: It is an hard question whether at our entring wee begin too soone to weepe, or to dye. But in our progress whereas dying hath no inter-



vals, sorrow seemes to admit some interludes ; but in a wise mans apprehension they are but delusions. Looke into the stage of the world, you shall see two serious Actors, the Dyer and the Mourner : All the rest play the foole, or the counterfeit ; where-upon the judicious spectator, Soloman, called out to laughter, Insanis, thou art mad, and to mirth, Quid frustra deciperis ? And the great Job sayd of himself, if I laughed on them, they beleewed it not ; so seldome did he, so little could he laugh, qui semper, quasi tumentes super se fluctus, timuit Deum, who thought continually he heard God, like the mighty billows of the Sea rowling over his head : But the Sonne of God, quoties verò ille, how oft did he impropriate the Title of vir dolorum, the man of sorrows ? From my youth up thy terrours have I suffered with a troubled minde ; and againe, I have a Baptisme to be baptized with-all, and how am I straightened till this be fulfilled ? For well knew the Sonne it was the will of the Father, that sorrow should be the dyet and viands of man in the course of this life, where the feathers and downe wee rest upon have their quills and thistles, the Rose we smell her pricks, the meate at our Table cryes out to us, Mors in ollâ, there is death in the plot. This habituall sorrow (for the fits of worldly mirth, quamirs non intempestivis amœnit artibus, are but recesses from it, and I neither condemne every act of joy, nor justifie every motion of sorrow), this habituall sorrow, from which Bennoni, the sonne of sorrow, was called Benjamin, the sonne of strength, and by which the sorrowful Jabez became more honourable than all his brethren ; this habituall sorrow, I say, this commanding sadnesse, this mastred and well rayned pensivenesse, is wisdom in the mind,



valour in the heart, salt in the wit, discipline to the flesh, from whence there breakes forth a Majesty in the very countenance. It is indeed the ballance of the soule, without which a light and empty heart, like an unpoysed Barke, danceth aloft to the flattery of the windes, which will quickly lay her low.

“ But we have every where so many causes of the one of these two, sorrow, that the other, death, might be jealous we forget him, and surprize us suddenly : if with the statue of sorrow in Jeremiah, the spirit of God had not erected also a monument of death in Josiah : and justly, for the same which David calls the valley of the shadow of death in the 23. Psalme, he calls the valey of *Baca* in the 84, for Sorrow is, saith Basil, the shadow of sinne and mortality : now, as if a man were placed so high above the earth, that night, the shadow of it could not reach to him, he should have continuall day : so those souls onely that have wrought so high, that the last point of this shadow of sin, Mortality, is below their feete, those have no sorrow, unlesse it be to looke downe upon us, and see, quantâ sub nocte jaceret nostradies, in what a true night of lamentableness we walk here on earth, which yet we thicken with grosse conceits of false mirth ; the best use then of naturall life, is the thinking on death : O that they were wise saith Moses, that they would consider their latter end ! Sion remembered not her latter end, therefore she came down wonderfully, saith our Jeremie in his Lamentations, yea in spirituale life Paul desired to know nothing here but Jesus Christ, and him dying : sleepe like a Publican, takes excise of our life, only the rest of it is our owne : he that thinkes not on death is asleep : what wee deny to the one Brother

the other takes away. O how I love thee thou meditation on death, since not time but thou measurest life, and makest it mine ! Through this narrow dark optick of the meditation on death ; our eyes, help'd with the watry spectacles of teares pierce through the chrystalline Heaven, and looke to eternall life : John confeseth of Peter and himselfe, who ran to the Sepulchre, and presently returned home, that they missed of that dignation which was afforded to Mary, who stayed there looking into the tombe, and weeping : her constant adhering to the Sepulchre had the honour to see the vision of the Angels, and her weeping, the grace to heare the first salutation of her Glorious Saviour, who appoints faith Esai to them that mourne, and gives them beauty of ashes, the oile of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heavinesse : thus we are taught in the first place by mourning in Jeremiah, and dying in Josiah ; how well mourning becomes an holy soule, & repente ut emoriantur humani Ioves, how suddenly death unthrones our mortall Gods.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Therefore when the foundations are cast downe, what shall the righteous doe ? As he propounds our case who had experience of it, and he addes the resolution, the Lord is in his holy Temple, the Lords Throne is in Heaven, Psalm xi. 3, 4. Observe the symetry of the partes ; on earth foundations in the plurall, the King and the Priests ; but unity in the patterne in Heaven the Lord, yet (in proportion to the building on earth) expressed likewise as in the plurall, the Temple and the Throne. If then you would have your dayes on earth as the dayes of Heaven, as Moses exhorted the Israelites, Deuteronomy xi. 21, Do

as he commandeth in whom Heaven and Earth are revealed and reconciled. Render to Cæsar, and render to God, Matthew xxii. 21. Heere's both Cæsar propounded and God, and yet but one ; yea and first it is sayd of Cæsar : For of the good wee can render to God, Cæsar is the Minister to us, and what obedience wee render to Cæsar is rendered to God as the terminative object. After all the rendering to Cæsar there remaines a rendering to God, and in all the rendring to Cæsar there is a further rendring to God. Render therefore to Cæsar, and render to God, sed & ipsum Cæsarem reddite Deo, but restore Cæsar himself to God ; as he is a foundation restore him to God by acknowledging him to be from God, as he is a shaken foundation, restore him to God, to the service that God hath ordained him for, and to the meanes to performe the same : For you owe to the patterne in Heaven (and through the foundation on earth must render) justitiam Throno, Templo preces, justice to the Throne, prayers to the Temple ; the Throne in Heaven requires of you justice too, and the Temple of Heaven prayers for the King on earth. Deficite justitiam moniti, & non temere Divos. Take heede Subjects, how you deal with Kings, he that must judge betwixt you is a King, not a Subject. Restore then to God His King, lest you be like those Gyants, the Aloades, that sacrificed to their God Mars, and yet fettred his hands.

"Let us conclude with our Jeremy, and his Lamentations, Lamentations v, verses 21, 22. Turne us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned : renew our dayes as of old, unlesse thou hast utterly rejected us, and cast the dice upon us.

"Gloria Deo & Christo."

A Parliamentary despatch from York, dated 5 May, informed the Government in London of these proceedings :

“ HONOURED SIR,

“ Divers great Commanders (in these parts) begin to appear visible and active for the King, and have declared the grounds and reasons of their taking up Armes in this second Engagement, having taken an Oath and Protestation for the prosecuting of this their present design to the utmost, and to take all opportunities whatsoever for the promoting thereof : in persuance wherof Colonell Bonivent (formerly Groom of the stable to Sir Marmaduke Langdale) with a party of Officers and Souldiers, to the number of one hundred, consulted together for the surprizall of Pontefract Castle, and at the last resolved to put themselves into a disguised posture, and to act their design in the habit of Country-men, which they did, and upon Thursday last, being Market day, they came from severall parts, and met at the lower town, and the plot being laid and the time and hour appointed, about 20 of them came up to the castle gate on horseback, with sacks under them, and their arms unseen, and discoursed with the Centinels, and immediately their confederates in the castle, and their associates at the lower town, made their appearance neer them, who upon a sudden cast down their sacks, and rushed in at the gates, Major Cotterell the Governour receiving this alarm, with about 30 men charged them in the Castle yard, but could not regain what was lost, the rest comming up so violently, insomuch that the enemy hath unhappily become Masters of this impregnable Castle, and hath taken about 60

prisoners, 3000 Armes, 80 Barrels of Gunpowder, Match and Bullet proportionable, two Culverins, one Demi-culverin, one Morterpiece, two Cullers, 600 weight of cheese, and great store of other victualling.

“ But before they became masters thereof, they lost at the least 8 of their men, for Major Cotterel fought gallantly, beating them back as far as the outmost gate, but it was his hard chance here to receive a wound, which gave a great advantage to the enemy, and his body was there seized on, the rest of his men retreated to the Queens Tower and held the Enemy in dispute for the space of one hour, killing some of them, but at the last were forced to yeeld upon quarter.

“ From the North we heare, that our forces are very successful against the Enemy, and that Major Carter hath possessed himself of Baine Castle, upon which Sir Marmaduke Langdale took an alarm, and is retreated towards Carlisle, Westmerland being thereby freed of his Forces.

“ Colonell Harrison's Regiment of Foot, and Colonell Twisleton's of Horse, are to march towards Baine Castle, and about ten days hence to ingage Langdale, if possible. We are somewhat quiet about Helmsly, they are raising the trained Bands in this county, and have nominated their Officers, viz. for the West Riding, Col. Roads, and Col. Fairfax. In the East Riding, Col. Bethel, Col. Aldred, and Col. Legare. In the North Riding, Col. Cholmley, Col. Lassels, and Col. Wastel, they have also chosen their other officers, which hath caused Langdale, Glenham, Musgrave, and the rest, to declare, That if the Essex and Kentish men doe not prevaile against the Army in the South, they cannot proceed on with their designs



in the North for if once the Southern and Northern Army should joyn, they are not able to fight them in the field.

“ They have further declared that what they now act is by the authority and power of the Prince of Wales, but murmures very much against the Scots, especially against Duke Hamiltons party.”

The Parliamentary supporters in Westmorland, disturbed by the rising, advised Colonel Blackmore, Governor of Warrington, in the following despatch :

“ The enemies of God and this Kingdom’s peace are now in arms in our county of Westmoreland ; after their surprisal of Carlisle they marched into us, and possessed themselves of Appleby, the Gentlemen of our county before their Generall Sir Marmaduke Langdale his advance, summoned in our county for, and after united with them ; their strength at first despicable, is now increased. The Foot generally arranged and forced Trained Bands of Westmerland and Cumberland. Their quarters are at Kendale, Kirby, and the Frontiers of Lancashire : their carriage as well as design full of malignancy which sufficiently evidences the falseness of their special pretences ; they plunder divers persons (of whom many of us are examples) well affected to the Parl. Notorious malignant Ministers formerly ejected do thrust us from our congregations, advance the Book of Common Prayer, erect and use the condemned ceremonies sometimes in fashion of cringing, bowing, &c., resolve to cut off the Parl. and their Adherants if God prevent not . . .



“ Postscript :

“ By Letters out of Lancashire, it is certified that Sir Marmaduke Langdale is in Westmerland, and hath with him there 16 troops of horse and 2000 Foot, the report is that he hath taken the Magazine in that County, wherein was 4000 arms and great store of powder. . . .”

Another despatch stated :

“ Colonel Bonivont, the late Governour of Sandall hath most unhappily seized on the strong castle of Pontefract. . . . It is a business of great concernment, and if not timely reduced, will much retard the work in hand ; But we heare that Maj.-Gen. Lambert hath designed a considerable number of horse and foot for the blocking of them up, and hindering provisions from going into them. Divers of the adverse party flockes thither apace, and they entertain all that comes, having store of armes and provisions.”

On the authority of the Committee of both Houses at Derby House, every inducement was to be made by Colonel Lambert, who commanded the Parliamentary forces in the north, to induce desertion from the Royalist force, and he was authorised on 6 June to promise in the name of the Committee that “ if any of those who are with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, now in the north, shall desert that party within the space of ten days, and laying down their arms depart quietly to their houses, we will use our best endeavours with the Houses to secure their indemnity for which is past in this late action.”

On the same date they sent another despatch to Lambert in which they stated that they "conceive it would be much for the service of Parliament if gents of quality who are with Langdale might be drawn off which would discourage the whole party and stop other from coming in." They left it to Lambert to "draw off as many as he can and to make as speedy an end of this business as may be."

On 10 June the Committee sent Lambert another despatch :

"We have taken into consideration the prejudice that the Parliament's affairs have suffered in the north by this unhappy surprise at Pontefract, and that those forces which are employed there to block up that place, might have added considerably to those that are to oppose and pursue Langdale and his party. There is nothing more necessary as affairs now stand than a speedy suppression of those insurrections ; we therefore recommend it to you to deal with the person who commands in the castle and see if he will hearken to terms. If you find him inclinable to deliver up the place you are hereby authorized to promise him a sum not exceeding £2000, to be paid when the place shall be delivered, but that to be within six days after your proposals made."

On 20 June from "Houghill" Castle, Sir Marmaduke Langdale directed Sir Thomas Sandford, John Lowther, John Dalston and Christopher Dudley to call before them all the men between the ages of sixteen and sixty in the bottom of Westmorland,

except in the five parishes belonging to Sir Philip Musgrave, and to take six hundred of them, not already enlisted, for the King's service.

On 21 August an order was issued from Appleby by the commander-in-chief, Sir Philip Musgrave, and the Commissioners of the bottom of Westmorland, Sir Thomas Sandford, John Dalston and Christopher Dudley, that £200 a month be paid towards the maintenance of the garrison at Appleby : that the assessments be made according to the old wonted course, and not according to any new precedents by the usurped power of the Committee ; that the persons of all such as were in actual rebellion, or had fled from their own houses since the declaration of the Colonel-General, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, be taken, and their land seized ; that persons supposed to be disaffected to His Majesty be examined ; that no one presume to levy any volunteers in the county, without commission from the Prince of Wales.

During his advance south through Lancashire Sir Marmaduke Langdale, General of the Northern Forces, wrote and dispatched to Sir Charles Lucas, who had secured Colchester, the following lucid and interesting letter :

“ SIR,

“ Your gallantry in *resolution* and *action* during the fierce and furious Siege of *Colchester*, hath already confirm'd in us that noble opinion which

we ever retain'd of you in all our undertakings, both for *spirit* and *knowledge*. Valour acquits itselfe best in extreames: of this your loyall prowesse hath given an ample testimony. We here, who truly love and honour you, and who with some of our best and choicest Forces hope in a very short time to Relieve you; could not retain lesse than a deep resentment of the diversion of those nobly-disposed *Royalists*, who ingaged their Persons for your Succour: with the pre-mature fall of that active Sparke of true Native Honour, the Lord Francis Villers: upon whose Surprized and dis-armed Body, report informs us, that such inhumanity by a *Mechanick hand* was committed; as Barbarisme itself would conceive. Horror to be an Actor in a Subject of such cruelty; But what shall either you or we collect from these tragick overtures, but the implicable hate and heat of an odious persidious Foe, flaming from a furious desire of imbruing his treacherous hands in the blood of all Such as professe themselves *faithful Servants* in defence of their *Princes honour, safety* of their *Country*, her just and auntient *Liberties* for which we Fight: and for preservation of which, we shall ever hold it a *devotinall loyalty* to ingage our persons, fortunes, with whatsoever is most dear unto us. The cruelty they show to ours, might prescribe us a Rule what to do, when it shall please God that we be (which we hope ere long to be) *Masters* of the *field*. But revenge in actions of cruelty shall ever be as far estranged from our thoughts: as theirs, since first these Civile unnaturall Wars were broached, have been from harbouring loyalty or compassion. Mean time, these mens designes, who push at nothing lower then *Crowns*, may afford both you and us, who

stand in defence of a *just Cause*, and no *private Interest* (as God is our witnesse) this usefull Lesson, 'Rather to sacrifice our Lives to a noble, a memorable fate ; than to submit to an imperious mercilesse Foe.'

"Hold out, brave Sir ; continue your resolution ; persue your Sallies : let not their numerous Recruits amate you, (give me leave for the true zeale I beare to your Cause, and love to your person, to inforce this needlesse advice :) you need little doubt, but if *Skippon's* power of *inlisting* men be abridg'd, as we hear it is : that these recruits or fresh supplies cannot continue long. Sedition, have it never so *specious pretences*, nor *powerfull Favourites* ; it will at one time or other be unmask'd, and shew its own deformity : which shown, those who followed her, and foolishly fawned on her, will become much asham'd that their mis-guided judgement should be ever taken with so deceiving a beauty.

"Now to enliven the hopes of all that brave and honourable Cavalry ther with you : Think every Evening, how we are one daies March neerer you then we were in th' Morning : and that our *heartiest wishes* go along with you ; as we are confident within few daies, with our *hands* to assist you. And to confirm the apparancy of these hopes, you may be pleased herewith to receive an *Abstract* of our proceedings, together with the Order we observe, and Successe we receive in our March towards you ; which you may with assurance communicate to my L. Goring, my L. Capell, to whom, I beseech you present my affectionatest Service, with all others of concern.

"Having divided our *Army* into two severall *Bodies*, both for accommodation of *Quarter*, as also

to reduce such *Neutrall Counties* in either Division, as upon appearance of a *visible Force* were easily to be made Ours : it was my *Charge* with sundry other *English Commanders* of eminent quality and under my *Conduct*, to march *Northwest* ; *His Excellence, High Lord Generall* of the *Scotish Forcees, North-east*. In our March we found an opposing ; but no considerable Party ready to incounter us near Appleby ; but they were quickly driven to a speedy retreat, and in such confusion, as their fear inforc'd them to make choice of such a place for their Quarters, as of all others, was most incommodious for relieving Souldiers. Their retreat to that part of the Country made way for their ruine ; being to incounter afresh with the *Scots*, by whom they were, though not totally routed, fearfully distressed.

“ Since which time, *Scarborough* a Port town of main consequence ; with the *Castle*, a Fort of impregnable strength, have declared for *the King*.

“ In our address to Kendall, we found the Town generally wel-affected : Such as had been before Officers and active Instruments for the *Publique* ; upon remove of some principall Formenters of Sedition in those parts, became wholly Ours. There we receiv'd and conferr'd Places of employment and Command upon them according to their qualities, and capacities of managing them.

“ We apparently found, during our short abode there ; that nothing had so much infected the affections of the people, as the seditious doctrine of sundry Sectaries and Nun-Conformatists in those parts, who bes-towed their oyle in laying *adulterate colours* upon the *face* of *Rebellion*.

“ But their feare of danger has caused them to



leave their pasture: By whose absence and apprehension of their own *errours*, their *deluded Flock* is now brought back to the *fold* of Loyalty. So clear we left that part, or angle rather, of the County.

“In our March to *Lancaster*, we met with no opposition. For the town, it is rather *Neutrall* then *cordially Loyall*; howbeit, the Inhabitants pretended themselves Ours: for these, much like the popular affections of most men in those parts, move and remove just as they see our Forces move. Some will wonder why we made it not our work in our March, to take in the *Castle*, being a place of such strength and conveniency for receiving and entertaining Garrisons to keep those parts in awe and subjection; which otherwise, by the factious advice and practice of Incendiaries (of which number there is no County but it has one corner or other sufficiently stored) might break out into open Rebellion; or such dangerous innovation, as it might highly trench upon the safety and welfare of those adjacent parts. But my Answer is, as there is at this time no considerable Force within the *Castle*, which concludes it lesse formidable: So our times of Speedy marching are no convenient seasons for besieging. Let us first doe the work we came for in the County, and all these Forts will find hands to open their gates to us cheerfully. There was no report which we receiv'd with more acceptance then the reduction of some Commanders in those parts; who, weary of ingaging their *lives, estates and liberties*, in so unjust and disloyal a quarrel, became firme and faithful Cavaliers: and being persons of quality, drew others by their example; to the like practice of obedience and loyalty I shall not need to instance them; their

personall imployments will, wnesse so much for them.

“ In this our March towards *Preston*, we feare no *overtures*. *Heavy taxes* and *grevous quarterings* have made many already shake off the insupportable yোক of their slavery. The farther we go, the more confident we are. *Cheshire* hears of our advance with much cheerfulness. The like success we receive by Letters from his *Excellence*.

“ Dear Sir, hold out but a little, a very little space ; your *friends* will visit you, and bring you off with honour : and with joynt imbraces congratulate you, for making *loyalty* your *object* of *valour*.

“ Sir,  
“ *Your most constant Servant*,  
“ M.L.”

At the battle of Preston on 17 August, Sir Marmaduke Langdale's division was exposed almost entirely unsupported to the attack of Cromwell's army, and was routed after a severe struggle. Friends and enemies alike admitted that they fought like heroes.

Langdale accompanied Hamilton as far as Uttoxeter, he then marched towards Ashbourne, Derbyshire. The Scotch, leaving Hamilton who was too sick to march, accompanied Langdale under Lord Callender. The Scotch became troublesome and refused to follow Langdale further. Callender informed Langdale of his own desire to accompany him, and was persuaded to rejoin his men. Langdale then gave orders

for every man to shift for himself, and accompanied by Colonel Owen, Lieut.-Colonel Galliard, Major Constable, and two servants, crossed the Trent.

On 23 August they stayed to rest at a little ale-house called the Lodge in the Oulds, which was upon Colonel Hutchinson's land near Nottingham—the Colonel Hutchinson to whom Sir Marmaduke Langdale had addressed his letter dated 18 December, 1643, taxing him with infidelity. Some country fellow, who saw them by chance, suspected that they were no ordinary travellers, and acquainted Mr. Widmerpole, who had been major to Colonel Hutchinson in the first war, who lived within two or three miles. When the news was brought to Widmerpole he hurriedly came with some few others, and sent word to Colonel Hutchinson that some suspicious persons were at the Lodge. Secreting himself in the inn where he could overhear the conversation, Joseph Widmerpole was able to ascertain that the gentlemen in question were not Cromwell's men. Colonel Hutchinson on receipt of the news came hurriedly with his servants. Major Widmerpole, after securing the horses in the stable, gave Sir Marmaduke Langdale "some jealousy that he might be surprised," which caused their suspicion. Sending for their horses, they found them secured by Widmerpole. Perceiving Colonel Hutchinson and his men com-

ing and that they were hopelessly outnumbered they surrendered themselves prisoners to Major Widmerpole.

The news wildly and madly flew that Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the dreaded and most hated Royalist, was captured. He was hurried off to Nottingham Castle and there imprisoned.

While in Nottingham Castle, Sir Marmaduke Langdale wrote "an impartial relation of the late fight at Preston." It gives the facts leading up to the fight at Preston and his subsequent experiences.

"SIR,

"This will give you a finall account of my imployment, which is now ended ; being a Prisoner in Nottingham Castle ; where I have civil usage. You have heard the condition I was in at Settle and Sigleswick, with about 3,000 Foot and 600 Horse, the 13 of August, where hearing the Parliament Forces were gathered together, and Marching towards me, I went to acquaint Duke Hamilton therewith to Horneby, where (his enemy being numerous in Foot) he might have the greater advantage upon his Enemy in those inclosed Countries. I Marched neere Clitherow towards Preston, in the March I met with the Lord Calender and divers of the Scottish officers Quarteres in my way, with whom I was resolved to March to Preston, but for the present the Intelligence was, that the Parliament Forces were divided, some part whereof were marching to Colne, and so to Manchester, to relieve that Towne in case we should

presse upon it. This made the Officers of Horse more negligent of repaying to Preston, but Quartered wide in the Country ; the same night certaine intelligence came, that Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell with all his Forces was within 3 miles of my Quarters, which I immediately sent to the Duke, and told it to my Lord Leviston, to acquaint Lieutenant-General Middleton therewith, and drew my Forces together in a field, and so marched towards Preston betimes in the morning ; where I found the Duke and Lord Callender with most part of the Scottish Foot drawne up ; their resolution was to march to Wiggan, giving little credit to the Intelligence that came the night before, but suffer their Horse to continue in their Quarters 10 and 12 miles off ; Within halfe and hower of our meeting, and by that time I was drawne into the Close neere Preston, the Enemy appear'd with a small body of Horse : The Scots continue their resolution for Wiggan, for which end they drew their Foote over the Bridge. The Enemy coming the same way that I had marched fell upon my Quarters, where we continued skirmishing six houres, in all which time the Scots sent me no reliefe : they had very few Horse come up, so as those they sent me at last were but few, and were soone beaten ; but if they had sent me 1000 Foote to have flanked the Enemy, I doubt not but the day had been ours. Yet I kept my post with various successe, many times gathering ground of the Enemy, and as the Scots Foote acknowledg they never saw any fight better than mine did : The Duke being incredulous that it was the whole Army sent Sir Lewis Dives to me ; to whom I answered that it was impossible any Forces that were inconsiderable would adventure to

presse upon so great an Army as we had, therefore he might conclude it was all the power they could make, and with which they were resolved to put all to the hazard, therefore desired that I might be seconded, and have more Powder and Ammunition, I having spent nine Barrels of Powder : The Scots continue their March over the River, and did not secure a Lane neere the Bridge, whereby the Parliament Forces came upon my flankes ; Neither did the Forces that were left for my supply, come to my relief, but continued in the Reare of mine, nor did they ever face the Enemy but in bringing up the Reare ; When most part of the Scots were drawne over the Bridge, the Parliament Forces pressed hard upon me in the Van, and Flankes ; and so drive me into the Towne, where the Duke was in person, with some few Horse, but all being lost, Retreated over a Foord to his Foote ; After my Forces were beaten, the Parliament Forces beat the Scots from the Bridge presently, and so came over into all the Lanes that we could not joyne with the Foote, but were forced to Charlow, where we found Lieutenant-Generall Middleton ready to advance towards Preston to the Foote which he did ; but not finding them there, returned to Wiggan, where the Duke was with his Foote (mine totally lost). There they tooke a resolution to go to my Lord Biron, for which end they could march that night to Warrington : In their march the Parliament Forces fell so fast upon their Reare, that they could not reach Warrington that night. And Lieutenant-Generall Middleton finding himselfe unable to withstand their Forces, left the Foote in Warrington to make their owne conditions : So as we marched towards Malpas, six of the Scottish Lords in this march left us, whereof



my Lord Traquaire was one ; Most part submitted to the Sheriff of Shropshire, who sent two Gentlemen of that County to the Duke to offer him the same Quarter that the Earl of Traquaire had : From Malpas we marched to Drayton, and so to Stone ; in our march from thence to Utoxeter the Parliament Forces fell upon the Reare and tooke Lieutenant-Generall Middleton ; at Utoxeter the next morning going to attend the Duke for his resoulution, I found him extreame sick, not able to March ; My Lord Callender seemed to refuse all wayes of Treaty, but rather to march Northward where we had a considerable Force, and the whole Kingdome of Scotland at our backs, upon this we marched over the River towards Ashburne ; I had the Van, and was marching, presently my Lord of Callender came to me, told me he would march with me, but that none of his Forces would, and that he had much ado to escape them ; that he was come himselfe alone, his Horse pricked in the foote, and without a Cloake, I perswaded his Lordship that it was better to returne to his Forces, because I could not protect him, and seeing the Scots had left me, I resolved to sever, and shift every man for himselfe ; but to capitulate I could not with a safe conscience. After some little discourse he returned to his Forces, and I marched towards Nottingham, where those few I had, took severall wayes, and I got that night over Trent, and came to a house 6 miles from Nottingham, where My selfe, Collonel Owen, Lieutenant-Collonel Galliard, and Major Constable, thought to have shrowded our selves as Parliamenteeres, and so make no resistance, but were discovered, and are now in Nottingham Castle this 26 of August, 1648."

Among those to whom the news of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's capture and imprisonment came, was Lady Savile,<sup>1</sup> a staunch Royalist.

Pontefract Castle had been surprised in June of that year by the northern loyalists who had responded to Sir Marmaduke Langdale's Declaration, and was still held by the Royalists at the time of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's capture at Oulds.

The story of the capture of Pontefract is best told in the words of Thomas Paulden :

" In the year 1648, the first war being over, we that had served the King in it, submitting to our common fate, lived quietly in the country till we heard of an intended invasion by Duke Hamilton : then we met frequently, and resolved to attempt the surprising this castle, of which Colonel Cotterel was Governor for the Parliament, having under him a garrison of an hundred men, most of them quartered in the town of Pomfret, and in no apprehension of an enemy.

" The design was laid by Colonel Morice (who in his youth had been a page to the Earl of Strafford), my two brothers who were Captains of Horse, and myself Captain of Foot, and some other. We had then about three hundred foot,

<sup>1</sup> Lady Savile on the death of her husband remained in Sheffield Castle and defended it for the King. She was in a state of pregnancy and the besiegers refused ingress to a midwife, of whose service she stood in need, in the hope that she would surrender the castle. The walls of the castle were decrepit with age and the ammunition scanty ; but it was only a mutiny on the part of the garrison that induced her to yield. Her child was born the day after the capitulation.

and fifty horse of our old Comrades privately listed.

“ We had secret correspondence with some in the castle, among the rest with a Corporal, who promised, on a certain night, to be upon the Guard, and to set a centinel that would assist us in scaling the walls by a ladder which we had provided and brought with us. But the corporal happened to be drunk at the hour appointed, and another centinel was placed who fired upon us, and gave the alarm to the garrison. They appeared upon the walls, our men retired in haste leaving the ladder in the ditch ; whereby the next day they within knew that it was no false alarm, but that there had been a real attempt to surprise the castle.

“ They took not a man of us ; our Foot dispersed themselves in the Country ; and half of our Horse marched to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had then taken Berwick and Carlisle. The rest being twenty or thirty Horse, kept in the woods, while we sent spies into the castle, and found that our confederates within were not discovered, but only failed by the corporal being drunk.

“ The ladder being found the next morning, made the Governour call the soldiers out of the Town, to lodge in the castle : in order to which, he sent his warrants into the country for beds to be brought in by a day appointed.

“ We had notice of it, and made use of the occasion. With the beds came Colonel Morice, and Captain William Paulden, like country gentlemen ; with swords by their sides ; and about nine persons more, dressed like plain countrymen, and constables, to guard the beds, but arm'd privately with pocket-pistols and daggers.

“ Upon their approach, the draw-bridge was let

down, and the gates open'd by our confederates within. Colonel Morice, and those who were with him, entered into the castle.

“The main-guard was just within the gate, where our Company threw down the beds, and gave a crown to some soldiers, bidding them fetch ale, to make the rest of the guard drunk ; and as soon as they were gone out of the Gate they drew up the draw-bridge, and secured the rest of the guards, forcing them into a dungeon hard by, to which they went down by about thirty stairs ; and it was a place that would hold two or three hundred men.

“Then Captain William Paulden made one of the prisoners shew him the way to the Governour's lodging, where he found him newly laid down upon his bed, with his cloaths on, and his sword, being a long Tuck, lying by him.

“The Captain told him, the castle was the King's and he was his prisoner ; but he without answering anything, started up and made a thrust at the captain, and defended himself very bravely, till being sore wounded, his head and arm cut in several places, he made another full and desperate push at the captain, and broke his Tuck against the bed-post ; and then asked quarter, which my brother granted ; and he, for the present, was put down among his own soldiers into the dungeon.

“Notice was immediately sent for me, lying hard by, of the taking of the castle ; upon which I marched thither with about thirty horse, and it being market day we furnished ourselves with all manner of provisions from the town.

“There came speedily to us, in small parties, so many of our fellow-soldiers, that our garrison was at last increased to five hundred men, which at

the rendering of the castle afterwards, were reduced to one hundred and forty.

“ We found in the castle a good quantity of salt and malt, with four thousand arms, and good store of ammuniion, some cannon, and two mortar-pieces. We expected a siege very suddenly, and got what provisions of corn and cattle we could, out of the country.

“ Particularly in one sally ; having notice that there were at Knotingly, 3 Miles from the castle, three hundred head of cattle, bought up in the north, going into the south under a guard of two troops of horse, we marched out at night with thirty horse and half a dozen foot with half-pikes to drive the cattle. We faced the troops that guarded them, while our foot drove the heard towards the castle ; then we followed and kept betwixt them and danger, the enemy not daring to charge us, and so we came all safe with our purchase into the castle. This and other provisions we got in by several parties almost every night, enabling us to keep the castle about nine months, though we had not one month’s provision when we were first beleaguer’d.

“ For in a very short time after we were besieged by Sir Edward Rhodes and Sir Henry Choldmondly and five thousand men of regular troops : but we kept a gate open on the south-side of the castle which was covered by a small garrison we placed in an house call’d New-Hall, belonging to the Family of Pierrepont, being about a musket-shot or two from the castle.

“ Some time after we heard Duke Hamilton was beaten at Preston in Lancashire, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale taken prisoner and brought to Nottingham-castle. He was General of the

English at Preston, who behaved themselves bravely ; and, in truth, did all that was done there. He had also, as I said, been our General ; we had his commission for taking the castle, as he had the Prince of Wales's, and we were resolved to run any hazard to release him ; for it was commonly given out that they intended to bring him before Pomfret Castle and to execute him in our sight if we would not immediately surrender.

" It being like to prove a tedious siege, General Rainsborow was sent from London by the Parliament to put a speedy end to it. He was esteemed a person of great courage and conduct, exceeding zealous and fierce in their cause, and had done them great service by land, and also at sea, where he was for a time one of their Admirals. His head Quarters were for the present at Doncaster, being twelve miles from Pomfret, with twelve hundred foot ; a regiment of his horse lay three or four miles on the east of Doncaster ; and another at the like distance on the west.

" Captain William Paulden who commanded all the few horse in the castle, laid a design to surprise him in his quarters at Doncaster ; not to kill him, but to take him prisoner and exchange him for our own general, Sir Marmaduke Langdale ; and it was only his own fault that he was killed, and not brought prisoner to the castle.

" The design seemed the more feasible because the General and his men were in no apprehension of any surprise ; the castle being twelve miles off, closely besieged, and the only garrison for the King in England.

" In order to execute this our purpose, Captain William Paulden made choice of two and twenty men, such as he most confided in. At midnight



being well horsed, we marched through the gate that was kept open, over the meadows, between two of the enemies horse-guards whom, by the favour of night, we passed undiscovered. Early the next morning we came to Mexborough, a village four miles west above Doncaster, upon the river Don, where there was a Ferry-boat. There we rested to refresh ourselves and our horses till about noon.

“ In the meantime we sent a spy into Doncaster to know if there was any discovery of a party being out, and to meet us as soon as it was dark at Cunsborough, a mile from Doncaster ; which he did, and assured us there was no alarm taken the town and that a man would meet us at sun-rise, it being then the beginning of March, who would give us notice if all was quiet. Thither the man came accordingly ; the sign he was to bring with him to be known by was a bible in his hand.

“ Captain William Paulden then divided his two and twenty men into four parties, six were to attack the main guard, six the guard upon the bridge ; four were ordered to General Rainsborow’s quarters, and the captain with the remaining six, after he had seen the four enter the General’s lodgings, was to beat the streets and keep the enemy from assembling.

“ We presently forced the first barricades and the guards there dispersed into the country, all the rest succeeded as we wish’d ; the main guard was surprised, we entring the guard-chamber, and getting between them and their arms bid them shift for their lives ; the same was done to the guard upon the bridge, their arms being thrown into the river.

“ The four then went to General Rainsborow’s

lodging, pretended to bring letters to him from Cromwel, who had then beaten the Scots ; they met at the door the general's Lieutenant, who conducted them up to his chamber and told him, being in bed, that there were some gentlemen had brought him letters from General Cromwel. Upon which they delivered Rainsborow a packet wherein was nothing but blank paper. Whilst he was opening it they told him he was their prisoner but that not a hair of his head should be touched if he would go quietly with them. Then they disarm'd his Lieutenant, who had innocently conducted them to his chamber, and brought them both downstairs. They had brought a horse ready for General Rainsborow upon which they bid him mount ; he seem'd at first willing to do it, and put his foot in the stirrup ; but looking about him, and seeing none but four of his enemies, and his Lieutenant and centinel (whom they had not disarm'd) stand by him, he pull'd his foot out of the stirrup and cry'd, Arms, Arms. Upon this one of our men, letting his pistol and sword fall, because he would not kill him, catcht hold of him, and they grappling together, both fell down in the street. Then General Rainsborow's Lieutenant catching our man's pistol that was fallen, Captain Paulden's Lieutenant who was on horseback dismounts and runs him through the body, as he was cocking the pistol. Another of our men ran General Rainsborow into the neck as he was struggling with him that had caught hold of him ; yet the General got upon his legs with our man's sword in his hand ; but Captain Paulden's Lieutenant ran him through the body, upon which he fell down dead.

“ Then all our parties met, and made a noise in the streets where we saw hundreds of their soldiers

in their shirts running in the fields to save themselves, not imagining how small our number was. We presently marched over the bridge, the direct way to Pomfret castle, and all safely arrived there ; carrying with us forty or fifty prisoners, whom we met by eight or ten in a company. We took no prisoners at Doncaster ; nor were any kill'd, or so much as hurt there, but General Rainsborow and his Lieutenant, and they too very much against our will, because our main intention was defeated thereby, which I told you, was to exchange and redeem our General Langdale, who however, the very night before, had fortunately made his own escape."

Sir Marmaduke Langdale effected his escape from Nottingham Castle through the aid of Lady Savile just in time to escape the fate that had been decreed for him.

Knowing that his fate was sealed unless he could escape, Lady Savile by careful arrangements mollified the guard at the castle with presents and so much obtained their confidence that she was able to invent a feasible plan for Sir Marmaduke Langdale's escape which caused little or no censure on the castle guards.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale made his escape from the castle in the garb of a Parliamentary soldier. He lay hid in a haystack in a field some little distance away until the hue and cry had somewhat abated. He then made his way to his cousin's house at Houghton.

The houses and estates of every Royalist in Yorkshire were at that time filled with troopers of the Parliament, and Houghton was no exception. There was a heavy price on Sir Marmaduke Langdale's head, either dead or alive, and his cousin's house and that of other relatives did not evade careful search. So far Sir Marmaduke Langdale remained undiscovered. In very short time news was brought to Houghton that Fairfax was on his way and that the country was surrounded with troops, as word had gone about that the dreaded Cavalier was hiding at Houghton. There seemed no escape this time.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was preparing to sell his life dearly when a trusty servant, Philip Dent,<sup>1</sup> a cowman of Houghton, suggested what might prove a bare chance of escape.

It was customary in those days for the milkmaids to ride their cows back to the pasture after milking them, and dressed in a print gown and wearing a large sun bonnet Sir Marmaduke Lang-

<sup>1</sup> After the Restoration a deed was drawn up by Lord Langdale, stating that the family of Dent, the cow-man, should never want as long as a Langdale should be at Houghton. The last descendant of Philip Dent was, until his death some twelve or fifteen years ago, butler to Colonel Philip Langdale of Houghton and Sancton. He used often to tell the story of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's escape from Houghton Hall, and how for many years the doors of the Catholic Chapel adjoining the Hall were left open and a dole of soup given to commemorate the escape.

dale made his escape in this way. When he had penetrated the ring of troops drawn round the house and reached the pasture, he secretly made his escape into the low country at Cliff, about two miles from Houghton, where he lay hidden in one of the large stone rabbit pits which in those days were all over the low ground to trap rabbits. A few days later he managed to reach the Humber bank, swam the river, and got into Lincolnshire. Disguised in the habit of a clergyman who was supposed to have been driven away from his benefice by the Irish rebels, he continued his way to London to the house of Mr. Berwick, a staunch Royalist clergyman, and there he remained until a convenient opportunity was found for his passing over the sea, by which time his enemies had given him up as escaped or dead.

The only satisfaction that could have been felt at the capture of Sir Marmaduke Langdale after his escape, was perhaps that felt by Major Widmerpole who was authorised by the Committee of both Houses sitting at Derby House that he should have such things ordered to his use as he took with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and that the horses then taken should be retained in his possession "till such be satisfied as were assistants unto him in apprehending him." The Committee of Nottingham, so Colonel Lambert was notified on 13 September, was to examine the business. Widmerpole had

the booty, out of which he presented Colonel Hutchinson, his late chief and neighbour, with a case or two of "very fine" pistols.

On 21 November Parliament voted that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should be one of seven persons absolutely excepted from pardon.

Pontefract Castle still held for the King, and to continue the narrative of Thomas Paulden :

"After the defeat of the Scots Army by Cromwel at Preston and Wiggan in Lancashire, Major-General Lambert came against us ; and then we were close shut up without hope of relief, and our provisions very night spent ; they threw papers over the walls offering honourable conditions, saving that six persons were to be excepted from any benefit of the Articles, who were not to be named till after the Articles were signed by the Governour.

"The Governour, Colonel Morice, here upon call'd the officers of the castle together ; and we unanimously promised we would never agree to deliver any person up without his consent.

"Upon which, Colonel Bright, the first of their commissioners told us that he had authority from Major General Lambert to engage that none of us that treated should be any of the excepted persons : we told him that perhaps the Governour might be one of them : he answered that he did believe the Major General did not so much look upon the Governor as some that had betray'd the castle to us, when it was taken. So we parted for that time without concluding anything.

"At our return to the castle we acquainted the



governour with all had passed ; some of our commissioners telling him that Colonel Bright had engaged he should not be excepted. The Governour asked me what I thought of it. I plainly told, I thought he was intended to be one, and repeated to him the very words that Colonel Bright had spoke which made him suspect he would be excepted because he had not engaged that the Governour should not be, as he had, that we that treated should not, but left it ambiguous. Then one of our commissioners told him that Lieutenant-Colonel Crooke had assured him that our Governour was none of the excepted ; upon which he resolved we should go out and conclude, saying generously that if he was excepted he would not have so many worthy gentlemen perish for his sake.

“ Upon this I desired the governour to send some body else in my place for I had promised solemnly I would never consent to deliver him up ; (which he would have had me sworn to before, but I told him my word should be as good as my oath). So they went and concluded and signed the articles ; and after signing of them they brought to us in the Castle the names of the excepted persons, whereof the Governor was the first.

“ Their names were,

Colonel Morice, our Governor.

Allen Anstwick, Captain W. Paulen’s Lieutenant, as one of those that kill’d Rainsborow.

Blackborne, Captain Paulden’s Coronet, for the same reason.

Major Ashby	} These three had been our correspondents in the castle when we surprised it.
Ensign Smith	
Serjeant Floyd	

“ We were not obliged to deliver up any of these excepted persons but they liberty to make their

escape if they could, which they attempted on horse back the next evening by charging through the enemies army. At that very time their guard unluckily happened to be relieving so that the number was doubled they were to break through.

“ The Governour and Blackborne charg’d thro’ and escaped ; but were taken in Lancashire about ten days after (seeking for a ship to pass beyond sea) and brought to York, where they were both executed. Smith was killed in the attempt. Austwick, Ashby and Floyd were forced back into the castle where they hid themselves in a private Sally-port (which we had cover’d designing to take the castle again by it, when there should happen a fair opportunity). Thence they made their escape the next night after the castle was surrender’d, and all lived till after the King’s return.

“ Thus ended the siege of Pomfret Castle.”

## CHAPTER VII

1649-1651

**D**URING the absence of Cromwell and the principal military commanders in the field, Parliament made offers to the King, who seemed inclined to consent.

The army, however, dissatisfied with the action of the Parliament, removed the King to Hurst Castle, 30 November, and on 6 December Colonel Pride, taking with him two regiments, went to the House of Commons and expelled the leading Presbyterian members. The remaining members, consisting of about fifty Independents, formed a Parliament known as the Rump.

The Rump determined to impeach the King, and declared by a vote that it was "treason for a king to levy war upon his subjects." A tribunal of 135 commissioners was appointed and called the High Court of Justice. It met in Westminster Hall 20 January, 1649, and after a trial lasting seven days Bradshaw, the President, pronounced the following sentence, after enumerating the charges, "for which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart,

as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death by severing his head from his body.”

## 1649

Three days later, 30 January, 1649, the sentence was carried out in front of Whitehall Palace. A man in a visor acted as executioner, and struck off the King's head at one blow, amidst the groans of the spectators. The King was attended on the scaffold by William Juxon, Bishop of London, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

In the registers of Whitechapel parish church there is recorded the burial of Richard Brandon, a ragman of Rosemary Lane, who was the common hangman, and opposite the entry a contemporary hand has written “He cut off the head of Charles I.” Brandon himself confessed, when half drunk, that “they made him do it for thirty pounds,” which, by way of a grim practical jest, was paid him in half-crowns. He seems to have died a few months later from the combined effects of remorse and dissipation.

A few days after the death of the King the House of Commons voted the abolition of the House of Peers and the office of the King. All authority was vested in the “Rump” Parliament, supported by the army. A Council of State consisting of

forty-one members was appointed to carry on the government. Bradshaw was appointed President, Milton Foreign Secretary, Sir Harry Vane had charge of the navy, Fairfax and Cromwell command of the army, and Robert Blake with Popham and Dean command of the fleet. The Great Seal was put in commission and the title of the King's Bench was changed to that of the Upper Bench.

The greatest diversity of opinion existed in the country both with regard to government and religion, and numerous sects and parties sprang up each with its own peculiar opinions. In the army there existed a party known as Levellers, who held that men were all equal and all distinctions of rank should be levelled. Respect for Royalty, however, had not died out of the kingdom, and the greater part of the nobles and gentlemen were still Royalists at heart, and were only kept down by fear of the army, which was the finest in Europe. To intimidate the Royalist supporters, and to prevent a movement in favour of Charles, Prince of Wales, three prominent Royalists, the Duke of Hamilton, and Lords Capel and Holland, were beheaded.

In Ireland the Marquess of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant of the county under Charles, had gained a great advantage over the few Parliamentary forces left there, and on the death of the King, the Catholics and other Royalists gathered

round Ormonde, who was soon in command of a considerable force. Cromwell was appointed Governor of Ireland. Ormonde was defeated, Drogheda and other towns were taken by assault, and no quarter was given to the garrisons. In nine months Ireland was subdued, and Cromwell returned to England, leaving the work of further subjugation to Ireton, his son-in-law. So complete was the conquest that large numbers of Catholics left the kingdom, and as many as 40,000 took foreign service. Large confiscations of land took place, and English settlers poured in.

On 14 March, 1649, Parliament ordered that Sir Marmaduke Langdale and all who have been plotting or assisting the rebellion in Ireland, be proscribed and banished as enemies and traitors, and die without mercy, wherever they shall be found within the limits of this nation, and their estates be confiscated.

The estate at Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, which Sir Marmaduke Langdale had purchased from his kinsman Sir William Constable, was given to the late owner. Sir William Constable had taken the side of the Parliament in the war, probably owing to his wife's influence, and had been one of those who had put his signature to the King's death warrant.

Langdale was safely back on the Continent after his alarming experiences by April.



On 28 April the Earl of Lauderdale wrote him from the Hague :

“ It was a great deale of satisfaction to me in all our late publick and privat calamities to heare that you was escaped from those bloody rogues who have murthured our King and our friends, but greater to heare that you are safe out of England. And I looke upon it as a great advantage to his Majestie that you who have so long and so faithfully served his father are now at libertie to imploy yourself againe for his restitution. God grant us a good opportunity to joyne againe in so good a worke, and till then I am sure there can come no great contentment to your most faithfull and humble servant.”

On 6 June Charles, from the Hague, directed Sir Edward Walker, knight, Clerk of the Council :

“ CHARLES R. Our will and pleasure is that out of such moneys as you shall receive that you immediately pay to the several persons specified in the annexed schedule the several sums set in their names respectively and for your so doing these shall be your sufficient Warrant.”

Among these names were those of :

	Gs.	s.	d.
Sir Marmaduke Langdale .	500	00	0
Sir William Vavasor .	2,000	00	0

to a total of 29,900 guineas, leaving an amount of 100 guineas still in hand.

The Earl of Derby, except for a brief period in the autumn of 1644 when he went to the assistance of Lathom House, and in the spring of 1651 when he took part in an expedition to England, remained in the Isle of Man from August, 1644, to August, 1651.

With his countess he held court at Castle Rushden, and entertained their cavalier friends and Manx subjects with masques and plays.

In June, 1649, the Earl was formally demanded to hand over the Isle of Man to the order and obedience of Parliament. He replied to the Committee of both Kingdoms sitting at Derby House in London refusing the demand and declaring anew his loyalty to the King. To a further demand he replied on 12 July stating that if they troubled him "with any more messages" he would "burn the paper and hang the bearer." He followed up his reply by a declaration concerning his resolution to "keep the Isle of Man for his Majesty's service against all force whatever." This declaration was written on the advice of Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Lewis Dives, who had been commanded by Charles II to assist the Earl of Derby in keeping Man "by counsell and personal service," and who had arrived in the Isle of Man from Ireland that June. In this declaration issued on 18 July the Earl invited all his allies, friends, acquaintances and tenants and all other His Majesty's faithful

and loyal subjects " to repair to this island, as their general rendezvous and safe harbour, where they shall receive entertainment and such encouragement as their several qualities and conditions shall require ; where we will unanimously employ our forces to the utter ruin of these unmatched and rebellious regicides, and the final destruction of their interests both by land and sea."

The Parliament's reply was to present Man to Fairfax.

Parliament made no serious attempt to gain possession of Man till March, 1650, when their ships were overcome by the naval forces of the Earl.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was back on the Continent after his second visit to the Isle of Man by May.

The Duke of Hamilton wrote him from the Hague on 18 May :

" Had I not hoped ather to have sein you heir, or to have waited upon you wher you are, I had ere this acknowledged the honor you did me, by your letter with our noble freind Sir Philip Musgrave. Our condition is sadly changed since I had the happines to see you, and my particulare losses are irrecoverable, yett we must not faint under our afflictions, bot unite all our spirites and powers in the pursute of a just revenge. I ame confident the Lord will blesse our endeavours, and when the meanes are least promiseing to humaine eyes, he will then most manifest himselfe for us.

“ You will have from this worthie bearer a trewe relation of our condition heir, I cannot say of our resolutions, for they are misteries not communicable untill they be rype for action, and then wee may all expect a share of the honor, as of the hasard, of being instruments in executeing the conclusions of wyser men then wee are. I shall truble you no further, bot beg of you to beleive that in all conditions wherunto fortune can throw me, I will preserve the vowes I have made.”

The Earl of Derby was selected by the King to command the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire in the projected Royalist insurrection. In July he was making preparations for a departure from the Isle of Man that proved a final one.

On the death of Charles I, the Scotch had proclaimed his son whom they agreed to recognise as King if he would take the Covenant. He was at first unwilling to do so, and an attempt was made by Montrose to raise the Scotch Royalists. The attempt was unsuccessful, and Montrose was taken prisoner, and after much insult and cruelty was hung, 21 May. Charles thought proper to disavow the enterprize of Montrose, and told the Scotch Parliament he had forbidden it.

## 1651

Some time after Charles landed in Scotland, signed the Covenant, and was crowned at Scone.

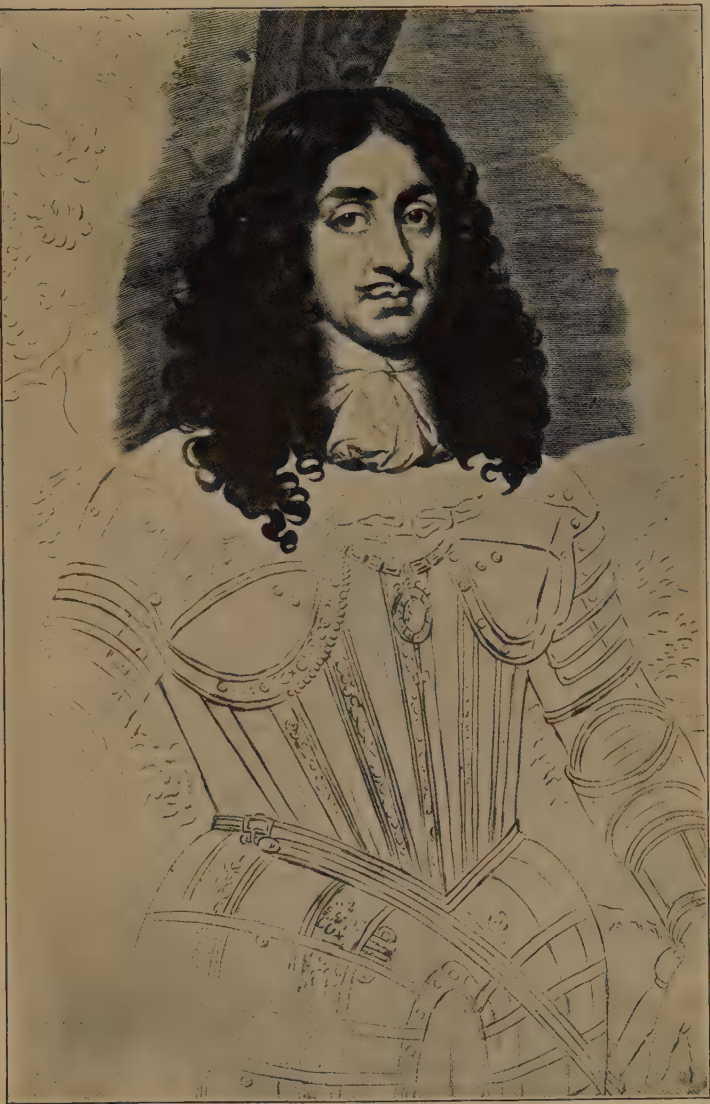
He was, however, treated with little consideration by the Scotch clergy and Government.

To deal with the situation Cromwell was recalled from Ireland and despatched to Scotland with an army of 16,000 men. Leslie, at one time the Royalists' doughty opponent, commanded the Scotch forces, who entrenched themselves between Edinburgh and Leith, and Cromwell, short of provisions, was reduced to great straits.

Persuaded by the Scotch clergy, Leslie left his entrenchments and attacked Cromwell at Dunbar, 3 September, and was defeated. Cromwell took possession of Edinburgh and Leith, and advanced as far as Perth.

The young King, with an army of 14,000 men, avoided Cromwell, hurriedly marched south and entered England, hoping that the Royalists would rally round his standard. In this he was disappointed.

On 12 August, in accordance with an arrangement with the young King, the Earl of Derby, with all his force, had sailed for England. On 15 August the Earl cast anchor upon the north side of Wyre upon Prissal sands. On the 26 August he came into collision with a more numerous Parliamentary force under Lilburn near Wigan, Lancashire, and suffered a reverse. With what remained of his force he joined the King.



CHARLES STUART, AFTERWARDS KING CHARLES II.

*Engraving by Cornelis van Dalen the younger, of Amsterdam, after P. Nason.*

By courtesy of Messrs. Constable & Co., Ltd.





Cromwell, leaving part of his army in Scotland under Monk, followed and overtook Charles at Worcester. In the decisive defeat of the Royalists that followed on 3 September, the whole of the Scotch army was either killed or taken prisoners. The Earl of Derby was captured in the retreat, confined in Chester Castle, tried by court-martial and executed at Bolton, 15 October.

How the King fared after his defeat at Worcester is best told on the testimony of Thomas Whitgrave of Moseley, Staffordshire, and of John Hudleston, a priest of the order of St. Benedict.

“ His Majesties Army being on Wednesday, the third of September (1651) wholly defeated at Worcester, his Friends dispersed, and Enemies in full persuit of their victory ; the King conducted by Collonel Charles Gyfford, and accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Derby, Lord Wilmot, Mr. Peter Street, and others, retired on Thursday. Moving to a House called White-Ladies, then appertaining to Mistress Coton, Widow, and now the Inheritance of her Son-in-Law Basil Fitz-herbert, Esquire, in Staffordshire. There his Majesty changed his Habit, cut his Hair, and transformed himself into the dress of a Country Peasant ; thus disguised, he dismissed all his Retinue, and committed his Person to the Fidelity of the Pendrells, poor Catholics, and labouring men, at, or about White-Ladies ; with one of these Pendrells, named Richard, the King spent the rest of the day in a Neighbouring Wood, and at night attended only

by the same Richard, set forward his journey towards Madeley in Shropshire, with the intention to pass over the River Severn into Wales, for the Recruit of his Army ; but arriving near to the River side, he was informed by Mr. Wolfe, a Catholic at Madeley, that all the Fords and Passages were so strongly guarded and obstructed, there was no possibility of effecting his design ; so that in his extremity, he was forced after having absconded all Friday in a certain Barn of the said Mr. Wolfe's to come back the next Night, and regain his former Asylum at another House of Mr. Fitzherbert's, called Boscobel, Tenanted by William Pendrel, Brother to Richard, and adjoining to White-Ladies. During this interval, those Persons of Quality whom the king had dismissed from White-Ladies, endeavoured each one the best he could to provide for his own safety.

“ Amongst others, the Lord Wilmot conjecturing the open ways least obnoxious to suspicion, departed the same Thursday in the forenoon from White-Ladies, and took along with him John, another brother of the Pendrels, as a guide into the common Road between York and London, but he soon perceived himself disappointed of his expectations herein, for the whole Country was Alarmed ; The Enemy every where in pursuit ; The Avenues on all sides blocked up, and searches re-doubled by a promised Reward of One thousand pounds to any one who would discover the King. Wherefore my Lord justly despairing of success that way, took refuge in the House of one Mr. Huntbatch of Brinford, near Moseley, about four Miles from White-Ladies, and sheltered his Horses in a ruined Barn of a poor Cottage not far from thence. But this place afforded him little or no hopes of rest or

safety, he sent his Guide John to Wolverhampton, in quest of some more secure Receptacle. Here also John miscarrying, and frustrated wholly of all Relief ; in his return to my Lord, by the singular conduct of Divine Providence, met with Mr. Hudleston at a Place called Northcote. John knew both the Person, Religion, and character of Mr. Hudleston, and therefore with an assured Confidence related unto him ; how the day before the King's Army had been utterly routed at Worcester ; how that very Morning the King himself with other great Persons had come in Private to White-Ladies, how the King had been there disguised, and dismissed his Followers, and was retired he knew not whither with his Brother Richard. How he had endeavoured to help a brave Person towards his escape into York and London Road, but not being able to compass it, nor get any Harbor for him either at Hampton or elsewhere, he had left him at Mr. Huntbatch's at Brinford near Moseley, where he would be most certainly discovered, unless Mr. Hudleston could prevail with his Landlord (Mr. Whitgrave) to receive him, and conceal him in his House. Hereupon Mr. Hudleston carried John to his Chamber, imparted the Affair to Mr. Whitgrave, who touched with a sense of compassion and Generosity, willingly undertook the care (however dangerous to himself) of the distressed Lord's Concealment and Protection ; accordingly Mr. Whitgrave without further delay waited upon my Lord at Brinford, comforted and encouraged him by his promised Assistance, and in fine ordered matters so, that at ten a Clock in the Night my Lord was safely brought to his retirement at Moseley ; the only difficulty remaining was how to dispose of my

Lords two Horses ; a thing not to be disregarded, both because they would be necessary for my Lords farther Progress, as also for that either standing as they did exposed in an open Barn, or being brought to Mr. Whitgraves Stables adjoining and obvious to the common Street, their being detected would occasion a disclosing of the whole secret ; To remedy this Mr. Whitgrave sent a trusty Person to Collonel Lane at Bently, about three miles from Moseley, acquainted him with my Lords arrival, and desired him for some little time to secure my Lords Horses. The Collonel who had formerly served under my Lord in the Wars, not only readily complied herein, but the same Night gave my Lord a private Visit, and kindly invited him to his House as the more secure place, adding, That his Sister Mistris Jane Lane, had procured a Pass from the Governor of Strafford, for her self and a Servant to go to Bristow, by virtue of which Pass he might as his Sister's Servant get clear out of the Country. My Lord thanked him for his Civility, but said he was well satisfied with his present Quarters ; yet withal entreated the Collonel he would keep the opportunity of his sisters Pass, and retain his Horses till he heard from him again. Thus they took leave of each other, and the Collonel returned home.

“ The next day being Friday, his Lordship sent John Pendrel to learn what was become of the King, and what had passed at White Ladies : John returning the same Night brought word That the King went the night before with his Brother Richard towards Severn, designing to pass over into Wales. Upon this information, my Lord resolved to accept of the proffered benefit of Mistris Lanes Pass, and accordingly next Morning

being Saturday he desired Mr. Whitgrave to send to Collonel Lanes for his Horses. He dismissed John in the afternoon home to White-Ladies ; and the Horses arriving at a certain Place and time appointed, about Midnight, he took leave of Mr. Whitgrave with all due expressions of gratitude and kindness, and so departed to Bently.

“ Saturday. And now my Lord being gone, Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston entertained themselves with thoughts and sollicitudes concerning the King ; They had heard nothing of him all that day. The last intelligence brought by John from White-Ladies on Friday was, That the King was gone the night before with Richard towards Severn for Wales ; but what success he had, or what was become of him since, they knew not, wherefore anxious between hopes and fears for his Majesties safety, they resolved to go the next day being Sunday to White-Ladies for their farther satisfaction ; whilst they were thus determined, and walking together very early on the backside of the Orchard on Sunday Morning ; They were surprised to see John Pendrel unexpectedly coming towards them, and approaching them with a frightful Countenance, and much impetuosity asked, where is my Lord ? Then (says the poor man in great consternation) we are all undone ; For the King finding the Passage over Severn all guarded with Soldiers, and no possibility of getting into Wales, is come back to Boscobel ; And we know not what to do with him, or how to dispose of him. He hath been for the most part since his Return concealed in a Tree (now called Royal Oak) with Collonel Carloes in Boscobel Wood, but searches are every where made, and the King is much dejected, having no hopes or prospects of redress,



wherefore understanding from me I had left my Lord Wilmot here, he hath sent me to him with orders he should take some speedy course for his removal and security with him. Upon this sad relation of John's, Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston deeply moved at the King's danger and Calamity, having first offered to God their Sunday Duty for his Majesties safety, accompanied John to my Lord of Bentley, where being admitted to his Lordship, it was upon mature deliberation Resolved. That my Lord should come back about Eleven at Night to Moseley, in order to the waiting upon the King there. That John should return to Boscobel, and from thence conduct his Majesty to a certain appointed Station near Mr. Whitgraves House, where Mr. Hudleston was to attend and receive him.

“ And what was thus designed was accordingly executed ; My Lord came and was conducted to Mr. Whitgrave to his Chamber ; And some few hours after, the King attended by John and two or three more of the Pendrel Brothers, arrived on a Mill Horse near Mr. Hudleston's Station, where Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston both waited for him ; Upon his arrival he was immediately conducted to my Lord, who with some impatience expected him in his Chamber. The King being thus by Gods blessing safely introduced into the House, after some private discourse had between him and my Lord, His Lordship addressing himself to Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, said, Gentlemen, the Person whom you see here under this Disguise, is both your Master and mine, and the master to whom we all owe our Duty and Allegiance ; upon which they both kneeling down, His Majesty admitted them to the honor of kissing

his Hand ; Then bidding them arise, told them, He had received from my Lord so good a Character of their Loyalty, and readiness to serve and assist him, and his Friends in those dangers, that he would never be unmindful of them nor theirs. Immediately after he asked where is the private Place my Lord speaks of ? They then showed him the place of his retreat for avoiding surprisals, which having been seen, entred into, and much approved of, he returned to his Chamber. He then sat him down on his Bedside, and Mr. Whitgrave presented him with a little Biscake Bread and a Glass of Sack, which he took ; whilst he thus sat, his Nose bled ; at this accident Mr. Hudleston seemed concerned, but His Majesty said it was usual with him ; then taking out of his Pocket an old course Clout which the Pendrels had given him instead of a Handkerchief, he received the Blood into it. Mr. Hudleston then presented him with a fair Handkerchief, and kept the bloody Clout to himself. After this the King went to the Fireside, sat down in a Chair, and gave Mr. Hudleston leave to pull off his Stockings and Shoes, stuffed within with White Paper, but yet so un-easie, wet, and full of gravel, they had extreamly enflamed and galled his Feet.

“ Here it may not be unpleasant to some, if we briefly describe part of the Rustick Habit under which the King was disguised, he had on a long white steeple crowned Hat, without other Lining than Grease, both sides of the Brim so doubled with handling, they looked like two Spouts ; a Leather Doublet full of holes and half black with Grease about the Sleeves, Collar, and Wast. An old green Wood-riffs Coat threadbare, and patch'd in most places, with a pair of Breeches of the same

Cloth, and in the same condition, the flops hanging down loose to the middle of his Legg ; Hose and Shoes of different Parishes ; The Hose were greay, Stirrups about the knees, under which he had a pair of Flannel riding Stockings of his own, with the tops cut off ; His shoes had been cabled with Leather patches both on the Soals and Seams, and the Upper leathers so cut and slashed to adapt them to his Feet, they could no longer defend him either from Water or Dirt. This exotick and deformed Dress added to his short Hair cut off by the Ears, his Face coloured brown with Walnut-tree-leaves, and a rough crooked-Thorn-Stick in his Hand, had so metamorphosed him, he became scarce discernable who he was, even to those that had been before acquainted with his Person, and conversant with him.

“ Mr. Huddleston having cleansed and dried his Feet with warm Cloths, put on new Linnen and Worsted Stockings, and accommodated him with Slippers, and other things necessary for his ease, His Majesty became thereby much refreshed and chearful, saying, He was now fit for a new March ; adding also, If it should ever please God to bless him with Ten or Twelve thousand Loyal and resolute Men, he doubted not but to drive these Traitors out of his Kingdom. After an hour or two’s discourse with my Lord Wilmot, in deliberation of what seem’d most expedient in the present conjuncture, it being now about five in the Morning, His Majesty desired to repose on his Bed, and the Pendrels, all but John, were dismissed home.

“ Monday. Upon the Kings first change of Apparel at White-Ladies, they had put him on a course patch’d harden Shirt, which by its roughness extremely incommoded him, and hindred his rest.

This Mr. Hudleston observing prevailed with him to accept of a new Holland Shirt of his own, and reserved for a Memorial the course one to himself.

“ For the better security of his Majestys retreat, Mr. Whitgrave sent forth all his servants betimes in the Morning, each to their several Employments abroad, except one Cook Maid a Catholic, who dressed their Dyet ; And it was farther pretended, Mr. Hudleston had a Cavalier Friend, or Relation, newly escaped from Worcester, who lay privately in his Chamber unwilling to be seen, So that this grand secret was imparted to none in the House, but Mr. Whitgrave, Mr. Hudleston, and Mr. Whitgraves Mother, whom my Lord Wilmot presented to the King ; And whom his Majesty graciously saluted, and confided in.

“ At that time Mr. Hudleston had with him at Moseley, under his Tuition, young Sir John Preston and two other youths, Mr. Thomas Palin, and Mr. Francis Reynolds, Nephews of Mr. Whitgrave, these he placed at several Windows in the Garret from whence they had a prospect of all the Passages from all parts to the House, with strict charge given them to bring timely notice of any, whether Soldiers or others that came neer the House, and herein the Boys were as exact and vigilant as any Centinel could be on his Guard. It is now Munday in the Forenoon, and John is ordered to go to Bentley with directions to Collonel Lane to send my Lords Horses at Night to Moseley to convey his Lordship back to Bentley. His Majesty sat constantly in Mr. Hudlestons Chamber, Mr. Whitgrave himself handing up all the Dishes from below Stairs to Mr. Hudleston’s Chamber door. And Mr. Hudleston placing them on the Table ; when all things were brought up old Mistres Whit-

grave was called in, and commanded to sit down and Carve, whilst Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston waited behind the King.

“ This day his Majesty spent partly in reposing and refreshing himself from the Fatigues of his former Journeys and hardships, and partly in recapitulating the late Transactions ; and taking a View of the present posture of Affairs. He recounted his proceedings in Scotland, and described the methods of his March from thence to Worcester. He inquired how the Gentlemen of the Country were affected towards him, and sent Mr. Whitgrave to Wolverhampton to get intelligence of Affairs ; sometimes he entertained himself at a window opening to the common Street, from whence he had the deplorable sight of divers of his own poor Soldiers, even those whom he knew of his own Regiment, the sad remains of Worcester Fight ; some of these had in their Hands Pease in the Straw, gathered from the Field-sides as they came along, others were eating Cabbage-Stalks and Leaves which were thrown out of Gardens into the High-Ways, not daring so much as to beg for Food. Others again wounded and maimed, sought for Relief at the Door, whose Sores Mistris Whitgrave with great tenderness and Charity dressed.

“ At night my Lord Wilmot’s Horses arrived as was appointed from Bentley, whither his Lordship accordingly returned with further directions, That Collonel Lane should the next night following, himself bring the Horses back to Moseley, in order to the Conveyance of his Majesty to Bentley. The King intended to take the benefit profered to my Lord Wilmot of Mistris Jane Lane’s fore-mentioned Pass, to quit the Country.



“ The next day, viz. Tuesday, the King conversed for the most part with Mr. Hudleston ; Mr. Whitgrave, and his Mother, being employed in the discharge of their several duties towards his Majesties accommodation, and safe-guard below stairs. He was pleased to enquire how Roman Catholics lived under the present Usurped Government ; Mr. Hudleston told him they were Persecuted on account both of their Religion and Loyalty ; yet his Majesty should see they did not neglect the Duties of their Church ; hereupon he carried him up Stairs, and shewed him the Chappel, little but neat and decent. The King looking respectfully upon the Altar, and regarding the Cricifix and Candlesticks upon it, said ; He had an Altar, Crucifix and Silver Candlesticks of his own, till my Lord of Holland brake them, which (added the King) he hath now paid for. His Majesty spent likewise sometime perusing Mr. Hudleston’s Books, amongst which attentively reading a short Manuscript writ by Mr. Richard Hudleston, a Benedictine Monk, Entitled, A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church ; He expressed his Sentiments of it in these positive Words. I have not seen any thing more plain and clear upon this Subject. The Arguments here drawn from Succession, are so conclusive ; I do not conceive how they can be denyed. He also took a view of Mr Turbervill’s Catechism, and said, it was a pretty Book, and he would take it along with him.

“ This afternoon a Party of the Rebels unexpectedly came to search Moseley for Mr. Whitgrave ; their approach was timely discovered, and a Servant came running up Stairs towards Chamber where the King lay, and cried out



Soldiers, Soldiers are coming ; upon this Alarm the King was immediately conveyed by Mr. Whitgrave into the Private place, or Receptacles before mentioned, which always stood open and ready in case of contingencies for his Majesties Retreat. And Mr. Whitgrave to prevent farther search, and thereby to secure the King from hazard of discovery, generously went down and exposed himself to the sight and fury of the soldiers, who violently seized upon him, and would have hurried him to Prison as a person engaged for the King in Worcester Fight ; but he assured them he had been a long time sick and infirm at home, and called in the Neighbours to attest the same, wherefore after much dispute, they at length let him go and departed. When they had quitted the Town and not before, Mr. Whitgrave returned, and with Mr. Hudleston, helped the King out of his Confinement, and attended him in his Chamber. Mr. Hudleston knew the King was acquainted with his Character and Function, and consequently also of his being obnoxious to the Sanguinary Laws, and therefore said, Your Majesty is in some sort in the same condition with me now, lyable to dangers and perils, but I hope God who brought you hither, will preserve you here. And that you will be safe in this place, as in any Castle of your Dominions.

“ The King addressing himself both to Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, Replyed, If it please God I come to my Crown, both you and all of your Perswasion, shall have as much liberty as any of my Subjects.

“ It is now Tuesday Night, and the hour of His Majesties departure from Moseley approaches. At twelve a Clock Mr. Whitgrave informed his Majesty that Collonel Lane attended at the place appointed

with a Horse to conduct him to Bentley. His Majesty met with all the resentments of Kindness and Gratitude for their Fidelity, and indefatigable care, day and night in his Service, bid adieu to Mr. Whitgrave, his Mother, and Mr. Hudleston ; they kneeling down, begged his Majesties pardon for any mistakes they might have committed through ignorance or inadvertency in discharge of their Duty. And thus accompanied by Mr. Whitgrave and Mr. Hudleston, the King went down to the corner of the Orchard, where the Collonel expected with the Horses, Mr. Hudleston reflecting on the coldness of the season, and thinness of his Majesties Disguise, humbly implored he would vouchsafe to accept of his Cloak for a Protection from the severity of the Weather. The King put it on ; Then again they all making their Obeisance, and with tears imploring the Divine Goodness for his Majesties safeguard, the King mounted and came that Night to Bentley. From whence by means of the above mentioned Pass of Mistris Lane, he escaped under the notion of her Servant out of the Country and Nation, remaining beyond the Seas till the time of his no less wonderful Restauration."

From Bentley, as Miss Jane Lane's attendant, Charles reached Leigh, near Bristol, and from thence went to Colonel Wyndham's house at Trent, near Sherbourne, and finally to the George Inn at Brighton—a journey extending over forty-one days.

During this period he was recognised by from forty to fifty persons. A reward of £1,000 had

been set on his head, and a penalty of death attached to any act aiding his concealment. His own part was well played in the way of endurance and *sang-froid*.

Charles landed in safety at Fécamp in Normandy 16 October.

In the meantime, Monk entirely reduced Scotland to subjection and the country was administered by Sir Harry Vane and other English Commissioners.

## CHAPTER VIII

1651-1660

### IN EXILE

**T**HE life of an exile on the Continent, with its irksome lack of definite employment, jarred on the mentality of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The life of an idle Court flatterer was not for him ; he was strictly a man of action, and his means of support in idleness were very slender.

On 16 March, 1651, the Marquess of Ormonde wrote him from Caen :

“ After soe long an intermission of the acquaintance wee had began in Ireland, and our seperated endeavours—I am confident—to the same end, I was very desireous of the satisfaction of your company for a short time when I was at Paris, but by some lesse pleaseing occation I was disapoynted. My purpose was if wee had met to have entervuid you with all possible freedome with whatever I was acctor in or witnes to since wee parted, and to have given you my sence of what wee are to hope to feare and to doe. This I hoped would have produced from you a naration of those actions you have since bin in and very profitable observations

upon the faileings you had met with in others. Haveing lost so great a pleasure as shuch a conversation would have afforded mee, and which can not conveniently bee repaired by letters, I am unwilling to loose the last end I proposed. . . .”

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was in a very poor way and greatly impoverished. Charles with no little kindly feeling wrote him from Paris on 25 May, 1652 :

“ Sir Marmaduke Langdalle, I am as sensible of the ill condition I heare you are in, as I am fully satisfied with your meritt in the King my father’s and my service, nor does the present necessitie I live under bring me any trouble so greate as I finde in the impossibilitie of relieving such persons as you are, but you may rest assured that when and in what proportion soever I shall be redeemed from this necessitie, I shall proportionably helpe you, and always give you the most effectuall testimonies I am able, that I am, your very loving frind.”

Never were the prospects of Charles gloomier than during his sojourn at Paris and St. Germain, which lasted till June, 1654. He was at first well received by the Duke of Orleans and several of the nobles. His pecuniary difficulties pressed hard on him ; the pension of 6,000 livres a month assigned by the French Court was more regularly anticipated than paid, and his share of the profits from Prince Rupert’s brigandage was only occasional. He was the head of a factious Court where his

Paris May the 25. 1652

S<sup>r</sup> Marmaduke Langdall, I am as sensible of the ill condition I heare you are in, as I am fully satisfied with your merit in the King my father's and my service, nor does the present necessitie I lye under bring me any trouble so greave as I finde in the impossibilitie of releasing such persons as you are, but you may rest assured, <sup>that</sup> when and in what proportion soever I shall be redeemed from this necessitie, I shall proportionably helpe you, and alwaies give you the most effectiuall Testimonies I am able, that I am,

Your very loving friend

Charles R

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM CHARLES II (WHEN PRINCE OF WALES)  
TO SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

By courtesy of Mrs. Harford.





mother and her favourites, "the Louvrians" as they were called, deplored his anger against the Scotch, while his weightiest advisers, Hyde and Ormonde, who with Jermyn and Wilmot formed his new council, could offer no better advice than to remain quiescent. The King was observed to lapse into taciturnity.

An opportunity for further military exploits presented itself and Langdale entered the Venetian service and distinguished himself in the defence of Candia against the Turks (5-12 May, 1652). He had perforce looked upon this military service as a relief to his most modest and pressing wants.

Parliament in 1651 had passed the Navigation Act, which forbade goods from European countries to be imported into the country except in English ships, or in the ships of the countries in which the goods were produced. This led to disputes with the Dutch who were in control of the carrier trade of Europe, and ultimately to war. Hostilities commenced in 1652, before war was actually declared. The Dutch admiral Van Tromp had come into the Downs with a fleet of forty-two sail, and was met off Dover by twenty-three English ships commanded by Blake. The English admiral called upon Van Tromp to salute the English flag. Upon his refusal an action took place in which the Dutch lost two ships and were put to flight, 19

May. Another action took place in The Downs on 28 September.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale back from service with the Venetians and hungering after further employment wrote Secretary Nicholas on 11 September :

“ In 1648, his Majesty, being then Prince of Wales and Captain-General in England, gave me the command of the five northern counties, then under the power of the rebels ; I was to endeavour the reducing of those parts to his obedience, and in case I could not possess myself of Berwick and Carlisle, to render them to the Scots, which I performed without assistance of any force from Scotland. I had likewise intelligence with the Governor of Tynemouth Castle, who, by means of His Majesty's friends in those parts, was persuaded to declare for the King, and to accept of a commission from me ; but putting too great confidence in his own garrison, was unwilling to receive others, so that when Sir Arthur Hesilrigge came to storm the castle, his own men left him, he was slain, and the castle regained.

“ If His Majesty shall be pleased to command me to endeavour the regaining of any port town, I shall be most willing to undertake that service, and doubt not but, by the assistance of His Majesty's friends, to effect it, if I am furnished with such things as are requisite, and a good army is sent for securing those ports when they are taken.”

Nothing came of it.

Nothing untoward happened to create further interest for the Royalist exiles until 1653.

In that year came the struggle for power between Cromwell and the "Rump."

Since his victory at Worcester, Cromwell had been looked to by all parties as the virtual head of the State. A growing feeling existed in England that Parliament should be dissolved and a new one elected in its place. This was resisted by the Members. They were not supported by the army, and the army was the mainstay of their authority. They therefore determined to reduce the army in numbers, and thus weaken the influence of Cromwell. Cromwell called a general council of his officers, a remonstrance was framed and addressed to the House complaining of the arrears due to the army, and calling upon the members to dissolve Parliament. The remonstrance was unfavourably received and Cromwell was told that Parliament would not dissolve, and that the vacancies in the constituencies would not be filled up by fresh elections. Cromwell took drastic action to compel Parliament to obedience. Taking with him three hundred soldiers, he went to the House, and after listening some time to the debate got up and in furious terms upbraided various members. Stamping his foot as a signal for his soldiers to enter, he said to the astonished members, "For shame! Get you gone, give place to honester men, to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a Parliament, I tell you,—

you are no longer a Parliament." He then ordered the House to be cleared, and walking up to the Speaker's table, looked at the mace, and said, "What shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away." The house was locked up, and Cromwell returned to Whitehall.

Cromwell's next act was to summon one hundred and twenty-eight persons from different towns and counties of England. By a vote passed 4 July these persons constituted themselves a Parliament. Amongst their number was a leather-seller of London noted for his long prayers and fanatical speeches, named "Praise God Barebone," and the assembly became known as "Barebone's Parliament." Its life was of short duration. On 13 December, Sydenham, an Independent, proposed that Parliament should by a formal deed resign its power into the hands of Cromwell. This was done by a deed known as the Instrument of Government, which constituted Cromwell Lord Protector, to carry on the government aided by a Council of State. He was to have no veto on the laws passed by Parliament. It was also arranged that Parliament should be triennial.

How matters in England were being considered by the Royalist on the Continent is portrayed in a letter of Lord Jermyn to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, from Senlis on 22 November :

“ I take this ocaion to bring myself into your remembrance and to assure you of my faythfull service, and I doe both the rather because I cannot chuse but embrace some foint hopes that things are soe disposing themselves in Ingland that old frends may think of meeting agayn once before they dye. If my fortune be soe favorable to me as to bring me into your company it shall be with the same mind and affection to your person and service that I was wont to have in it, and in the mean time noebody can wish you more hapynes then I doe.”

## 1654

Peace between the Dutch and English republics was concluded by the Treaty of Westminster, 5 April, by which the Dutch promised not to give assistance or shelter to the Royalists, to salute the English flag, and to pay certain sums of money as compensation to English merchants who had suffered at their hands.

Cromwell's first Parliament met 4 September. For the first time Irish, Scotch, and English members sat side by side. Its first business was to discuss the mode of government. This gave offence to Cromwell and he excluded from the House all the members who would not pledge themselves to resist any change of government, and on 31 January dissolved Parliament.

Late in February Charles secretly removed from



Cologne to Dusseldorf and Middleburg to be ready to take part in the intended Royalist rising in England and only Hyde and Nicholas were conversant with the step.

## 1655

In reference to a republican plot Sir Marmaduke Langdale wrote the King. To this communication the King replied from Cologne on June 22 :

" Sir Marmaduke Langdall. I received yours of the third of this month and forbore answering it presently, because I knew not on the suddayne what to say to the information ; I have since receaved another letter from the same party, who it seemes is gone into the feelde, so that I know not how to drect a letter to him, but I suppose he hath acquainted you how you may sende, therefore I pray convey the inclosed safly to him. I confesse to you, though the information be of importance, I know no other use of it at present then to hearken the best I can how they proceede, I shall be glad to know your opinion what I am to doe upon it, and which way I may make advantage of that people, who seeme nothing inclined to my interest. I have no more to say, but that I am, and ever will be, your very affectionate frinde."

The plot had been prepared by " The Levellers," who were to join a large party of Royalists in the north of England in carrying out their design for a rising which they desired Sir Marmaduke Lang-

dale's presence to lead. He was not, however, employed. The "Levellers" were to endeavour to raise a revolt in the army in Scotland, and Edward Sexby, who since 1654 had been the recognised head of the Levellers, and according to Cromwell "a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty" was in negotiation with the Royalists on the Continent.

Edward Sexby, a native of Suffolk, had entered Cromwell's regiment of horse about 1643. In 1647, still a private in the same regiment, then commanded by Fairfax, he took a leading part in the movement against disbanding the army, and was one of the three soldiers charged with the letter from the army to their generals which Skippon brought before the House of Commons on 30 April, 1647. He became one of the leaders of the "agitators," and acted as their chief spokesman in the debates of the army council in October, 1647. Sexby was eager for an Anglo-Spanish league against France, and hoped to obtain the command of the levies which it was proposed to send to the support of the Frondeurs of Guienne. Cromwell's abandonment of the projects against France and still more his assumption of the protectorate, caused a breach between Sexby and the Protector. The former allied himself with the disaffected republicans, disseminated pamphlets against the Protector, and took a leading part in

the schemes for a joint rising of Royalists and Levellers in the spring of 1655. In February, 1655, Cromwell's officers in the West of England were in hot pursuit of Sexby, who succeeded in escaping to Flanders.

The Royalist rising and Republican plot was crushed with great vigour by Cromwell, and the country was divided into eleven military districts, each presided over by a major-general, who had almost absolute powers over the property and persons of the people. Discontent was rife all over the country, and some of Cromwell's enemies openly advocated assassination. The country was heavily taxed, and defaulters were treated with great severity.

The chief advisers of the King were at this time sometimes perplexed to know how best to deal with the different and varied situations that arose. Sexby at Antwerp made the acquaintance of Colonel Robert Phelips and other Royalists. He described Cromwell as "a false, perjured rogue," and affirmed that if security for popular liberties were given, he would be content to see Charles II restored. Father Peter Talbot acted as interpreter in Sexby's dealings with Count Fuesaldanha, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and communicated his proposals to Charles II, urging the King to come to an agreement with Spain and utilise Sexby and his party. The names of

“Brookes” and “Hungerford” were assumed by Sexby, and he is referred to by one of these aliases in the correspondence of the period.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was in correspondence with Sir Edward Nicholas during this period, and a letter written by Nicholas from Cologne, dated 28 September, during the King’s absence, incognito at Frankfort fair, shows the perplexity of the King’s secretary in endeavouring to negotiate successfully at one and the same time with the party led by Sexby (Mr. Brookes) and with the Catholics :

“I have receaved yours of the 10th present together with the inclosed from Mr. Ouverton to you, both which I shall acquaint his Majestie with, as soone as he returnes from Francfort, whether his Majestie, the Duke of Gloucester, and Princesse Royall went—à l’incognito—on Sunday last was senight, and we expect them all back here againe this next weeke. If Mr. Brookes shall of himself insinuat to the Spaniard—if he be gon for Spayne, whereof I perceave some are doubtfull—that the King’s party in England and Mr. Brookes freinds will join, I conceive it may not be amisse, but you know the humor of Mr. Brookes party is such, as that that busines is to be very warily and tenderly handled, least if some among them come to understand of it before they are—by some of the wiser sorte of their party in whome they confide—prepared for it, should oppose it ; I can assure you there is as much donne to inclyne the King of Spayne as wise men can wishe ; and nothing left

undonne to beget a right understanding att Rome, if I am—as I beleeeve—truly informed ; whatsoever you may have bene tould, I am credibly assured there is much more application made to the catholiques then to the presbiterians and to my knowledge the King desires above all thinges to take in all parties that will serve him, but ites impossible to give satisfaction to the different humours and principles of all parties, who hold it their interest to destroye one another, but what may be reasonably donne to content them all is really endeavoured. Albeit I cannot beleeeve there is any such treaty—much lesse an agreement—as you mention, concerning the presbiterians in England and Scotland—on whose behalf you say the Earl of Rochester and Lord Balcarris are entrusted to makes offer to his Majestie of a great sum of money, and other propositions—yet I am confident the King leaves no prudent meanes to gayne all parties to joyne for his and their owne interests. I can say nothing of Memells busines of my owne knowledge, but have bene tould—by some that pretend to know the same—that there was noe such error committed in it, as—it seemes—you have bene informed. There hath bene noe Jesuitt sent by the King from this place for Rome or elsewhere as I can learne or heere of. It seemes to me somewhat incredible, for the reasons yourself gives, that there should be any cummunica-tion betweene Cromwell and the Jewes, who are a very crafty and worldely-wise generation, and I am perswaded will not easily be drowne to settle where there is so much uncerteynty of duration as there is in the present Gouvernment in England. As for what you say comes from Sir Ed. Pittes report, concerning Cromwell's paying 20,000 *l.* for raying

of forces in Switzerland to joyne with the Huguenotes of France, I suppose you mistake the name of the reporter, for I never heard of any such person as Sir Ed. Pitt in Hollond, possibly you meane Sir Ed(ward) Brett, and if the report come from him, I can then learne the truth of it. As for what you write touching Lieut. G(en) Middleton's going for Sweede, I can assure you of my knowledge there is noe such thing, nor any cullour for the report of his being imployed thither, or to that King ; and soe I conceive I have gonne throughe most particulars in your last letter ; and when his Majestie returnes, I shall—if you desire a further aunswere to any particular—send it you from his Majesties owne directions. We heare that the peace being made for the Albigeois in and neere Savoye, that Cromwell resolves to dispose of the greatest part of the monny collected from those protestantes. I heare that Cromwell's army being drawne out lately in Tuthill Feildes grew unruly, and would not be commanded by their officers, and made some demaundes which were not liked, whereupon—to quyet them—they were tould that Cromwell would be in a state to come abroade within two or three dayes, and then they should have satisfaction from himself, and soe with much adoe they were appeased. Some say there is a designe to presse to have a trienniall parliament, and to make choice of parliament men according to law ; and I heare St. Johns is an undertaker in that designe, and pretendes thereby to unite Cromwell and the people ; which I conceive to be but a presbyterian dreame, to which Cromwell will never trust. The Queene of Sweede is expected here this day, as she goes towards Italy, but how long she intendes to stay here is not knowne, but



ites thought it will not be longer then till too morrow. There is a report here that Cromwell dyed the 19th of this moneth of a fitt of the collick, but wee have noe such evidence of it in all this tyme, as to make us give credditt to the report ; if it be true, I presume we shall Thursday know it, and then God graunt wee may make good use of such a change.

“ The Queene of (Sweden) <sup>1</sup> passed this morning throughe this towne but staid not, she dyed over the water, and goes this night to a castle about four leagues hence.”

Sir Edward Nicholas, whose honesty and dislike of intrigue had occasioned the ill-will of the Queen, was formally reappointed Secretary of State while staying at Aix from 25 August to 8 October, 1655. He accompanied the Court to Cologne in October. Nicholas was not, however, taken into the King's confidence, and was overshadowed by Hyde, who during Nicholas's long suspension from office had transacted the duty of Secretary.

## 1656

Sir Marmaduke Langdale wrote Secretary Nicholas from Brussels on 3 January :

“ The design I mentioned to you was that of the Levellers. I fear there are curious eyes over me here, because it is observed that I receive weekly

<sup>1</sup> Queen Christina of Sweden.

letters from you ; I have been asked captious questions, which makes me more cautious in writing, and I have little worth troubling you about.

“ The Spaniard continues on his slow pace towards our King. It is thought Cromwell will patch up a trade-peace. Marquis Barrière is ordered to continue in London. It is said the Swiss will soon rise, and the French Huguenots with them. I wish all this fair show may not end in a war with Holland, because Cromwell is preparing flat-bottomed boats, and small frigates, which cannot be for the Indies, and the French will not let him take any places in this country. I hear of no vessels taken on either side. If you have no better hopes from hence than I send you, it is high time to look somewhere else, both for the King and the Levellers. If there could be any means to unite that party to his Majesty, it would be better foundation than any I hear of, and to begin only with the King's party will but make a second part of an ill tragedy ; but the Levellers here are kept secret, and not to be spoken with.”

On 6 September, Cromwell called a Council of officers at Whitehall, and each regiment was represented by one of its field-officers. Cromwell addressed them. He stated that Charles Stuart was raising an army in Flanders to invade England, that the King of Spain was assisting him, and that the Levellers had allied themselves with the Royalists and were plotting to seize a seaport where foreign forces might be landed, while the Fifth-Monarchy men were once more preparing to rise in arms.

On 17 September Cromwell's second Parliament met. It proved to be the turning point of the Protectorate. His government was becoming more and more the rule of the sword. Parliament desired that Cromwell should take the title of King.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was in correspondence with Hyde, and eighteen original letters from Hyde to Langdale, certain of which were written at the time when the question of kingship was being agitated in England, are of interest. For the rest, the letters are mostly concerned with hopes and plans for the future, personal affairs, and the movements of the King and his friends.

On Thursday, 7 September, Hyde wrote Langdale from Antwerp :

" I make no doubte but upon delivery of the inclosed you will receave the five hundred guineas. I am makinge a stepp to-morrow moringe to Breda, wher I will only stay one day, and be heare God willinge on Sunday, and then in two or three dayes more I hope to return to Bruges. As any thinge of moment occurres you shall be sure to be advertised."

On 11 September from Antwerp :

" I hope you receaved the letter I sent you on Thursday night by Robert Dungan, I forgott before wee parted to desyre one thinge of you, of which wee conferred, that is the names of five or six of those persons of Yorkeshyre and the like number

of the Bishopricke and Northumberlande, upon whose interest and discretion wee may most depende. I am not without lists of very many of both countyes, but I would fayne have your opinion of such a number of the best. I am yett heare to negociate some businesse, which proves more difficulte then I thought it would have done, and know not when I shall returne to Bruges ; if you write a lyne or two to me, put it under a cover to Mr. John Shaw, and it will quickly come to the hands of. . . .”

The names suggested by Sir Marmaduke Langdale were :

Yorkshire—Lord Davers, Lord Bellasis, Lord Strafford, Sir George Savill, Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir Francis Anderson.

Northumberland—Colonel Gray, Mr. Strather, James Ogle, Colonel Carnaby.

Bishopric—Sir Richard Tempest, Mr. John Tempest, Colonel Forcer.

On 18 September, from Bruges :

“ I was so suddaynely called away from Antwerpe,—and I assure you upon no ill occasyon—that yours of the 12th came not to my hands till Saturday night. It gave me all the satisfaction I desyred, for I know the opinion those with us heare have of ther countrymen, and I only desyred your judgement of three or four signall men, upon whose discretion as well as interest we might depende, to communicate with before it may be seasonable to trust many, and those you name, or some of them, may comply with that conveni-

ence. I pray do me the same favour for Lancashire, where wee are so much strangers that wee know very few, therefore send me the names of three or four of moment, and upon whome wee may depende. For the mayne, I can only tell you, I thinke it proceedes accordinge to your wish, and I am much deceaved if you will not believe it counsellable shortly to visit your frendes in Englande. If ther were not some probability that I shall shortly meete you at Bruxells or Antwerpe, I thinke it would be tyme to wish for your company heare. By the beginninge of the next weeke I shall lett you know more, in the meane tyme I beseech you to be most confident, that you shall upon all occasyons finde me to be most faythfully and heartily yours."

On 14 November from Bruges :

"I have both yours of the 6th and the 10th before me, havinge forborne to acknowledge the former, till I could be able to say somewhat to you of importance, and exspectinge then every day some more particular information from Englande. The last night Roger brought me a letter from I. Scott, to the same effecte with yours, almost in the same wordes. I expected from such a convenience of sendinge, a more particular accounte of affayres ther, I know not what he meanes by six weekes, nor from what grounde such discources aryse, only I finde that wee receive much prejudice from the activity and confidence of private and particular persons, who have no kinde of authority or war-rante for any thinge they say or doe, but upon the conscience of meaninge well—which I hope they doe—they reporte or pretende any thinge they in ther

pose it to make few attempts; But I hope to be worth by  
it. But your own business would give you time to write  
later to us, when we shall need your advice, and at present  
I do not think the King will be in his country of the  
to Breckinridge, may I dare prove he will not give. I think he will give  
our the hopes of winter action, which at present I am sure he is  
far from; I have said in minutes we would expect to see him. But  
he is. I am sure he will be in the country, and I would not say  
are your own friends. I am sure he will be in the country. I am  
very heartily  
Yrs. M. Langdale.

W. B. Lang. 14th  
of Nov. 1861. Sent. E. M. W. Langdale.

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM SIR EDWARD HYDE (AFTERWARDS EARL OF  
CLARENDON) TO SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

By courtesy of Mrs. Harford.





discretion thinke fitt, and yett I must tell you, if the ministers heare make good, what they now promise, and seeme as intente upon as is possible, wee shall not be idle this winter, as farr gone as it is, and truly ther are infinite reasons which should dispose us to make some attempte. And therfore I do heartily wish, that your owne businesse would give you leave to returne hither to us, wher wee shall neede your advice, and at present I do not thinke the Kinge hath it in his purpose to returne to Bruzelles, nay I dare swere he will not goe thither till he give over the hope of winter action, which at present I am sure he is farr from. I have this minute receaved letters from Dunkirke, that Marshal Turyn <sup>1</sup> hath burned his campe, and is marched away, and orders are gone out from Don Juan to assemble all ther forces."

On 18 December from Brussels :

" I did not thinke to have troubled you with the acknowledgement of your favour of the 14th till I had thanked you at Bruges, but since the bearers returne before me, I cannot but tell you I will make as much haste after them as I can, and then I shall informe you of more particulars than I can well write, in the mean tyme I can assure you that the mayne goes very well, and these people are even as willinge to helpe us, as wee are to be helped ; they expecte every day to be abler to do it, and I do give you my worde men are raysinge in the place you most desyre. It is no wonder that the Caveleer and the catholique are most reserved at present in ther discourses, since they have both paid so dearly, but I am perswaded, though others talk

<sup>1</sup> Turenne.

lowder now, that when the tyme for action is rype, they will do more then they. I am sorry that your cos. Wh(arton) is so scrupulous, yett it is possible he may come to you, for if he had intended it, no doubt he would not have declared it. As soone as we returne—which I conceive will be before the end of the weeke—wee shall finde it necessary to send severall persons into England. I pray therefore, thinke with yourselfe of some who are discreete ; I do not finde that the daunger of goinge thither is very greate.”

In November, 1651, Charles II, immediately after his escape from Worcester, had summoned Hyde to Paris, and for the rest of the exile he was the King's most trusted adviser. He was immediately appointed one of the committee of four with whom the King consulted in all his affairs, and a member of a similar committee which corresponded with the Scottish Royalists. He filled Nicholas's place as Secretary of State until August, 1654. He accompanied the King in his removals to Cologne.

## 1657

During April and May the Royalists on the Continent expected every post from England to bring them news that Cromwell had accepted the crown.

On 16 April Hyde wrote Langdale from Brussels :

“ I have yours of the 11th with the inclosed, which I kept one night in my hands upon an

assurance that Major Waters would have bene that night in this towne, but findinge it not like to be so soone, I committed it to the care of Colonel Slingsby, who sent it to the quarters to him, and if it contayne any thinge of moment, I suppose I shall shortly heare from him. Colonel Slingsby assured me that Sir Harry and his sunn are both in Hartfordshyre at Robert Slingsby house, so that it seems he is freed from his imprysonment in Hull.

“ I can give you no other accounte of our businesse heare then that all people looke kindly upon us, and (Don Juan) hath acknowledged the service at St. Gillin to the Kinge, with all the expressyone of the importance of the obligation that can be imagined ; in a worde, they will do the best they can to give us satisfaction in all that wee propose, and I hope wee shall have done what wee came for shortly, that wee may returne to you to Bruges, where as the world goes, I had rather be then in this crowde.

“ I did desyre Mr. Barton to deliver his letter alwayes to you, and I pray if ther be any thinge of importance in it, putt it under cover to me, and give it the Secretary, who will send it by the first opportunity. Wee must now exspecte that every post will bringe us matter of moment, and I hope his tryumphs will mete with some obstructions. It is a wonderfull thinge to see how wise men in England differ in ther opinions of what is like to fall out. I wish you all happiness.”

On 20 April from Brussels :

“ I have yours of the 18th and returne your letters from Sir Theophilus Gilby, and will take

care by the next post to send him a duplicate of the letter you formerly sent him from the Kinge to the Greate Duke, for sure if ther were ever reason to send for him, it holdes still, and if wee have not occasyon to use his service by the tyme he can come to us, we shall be in ill case. I am of the same minde I was, when I talked last with you in my gallery, and I thinke I have good reason for it: one moneth more will putt me out of my thoughts. These people will do all they can, yett the death of the Emperour falls out very unseasonably; though it will have an unhappy influence upon christendome, it is possibly for the present it may give some ease to this country, for I should imagyne that France will send much of ther power towards Germany. I see no cause to suspecte Vavasour, and I perceave the gentleman who informed me of Sir Harry Slingsby beinge in Harfordshyre mistooke his cypher, and findes since, that it is his sunn. I have not hearde from Major Waters, since I sent him your letter.

“The little merchant who brought me yours of the 17th is a very honest man, well knowne to the Kinge, but not very skilfull, to tell us the same tale of Mr. Howarde, from Dr. Winnebanke, but wee cannot imagyne what Howarde it should be, he sayed he served the Kinge all the warr in the north, so I conclude he mistakes the name; and that he bringes is as imperfecte, so unskilfull ours frends are to send expresses on purpose, and upon charge, without beinge instructed in matters of importance. The death of the Emperour retardes us in our businesse, so that I cannot tell you what day wee shall sett out.”

On 30 April from Brussels:

“ I must aske your pardon for not answeringe yours of the 20th by the last post, but your letters from Bruges come so late to us, and goe so early from heare, that it is not possible to be punctuall. What the Dutch will do for us or themselves, wee yett know not, but if wee are not much deceaved by two or three expresses from Englande, ther will be good worke ther speedily, and therfore I am vexed out of my witts, to see how slowly these people move in their preparations, though they promise all wee can desyre, and seeme to thinke themselves no lesse concerned then us. I am of your opinion, our little marchante forgott his man, and should have named Mr. Wharton, and had the other name only given him for his memory, which hath bene confounded by it. I do looke that those next letters shall bringe us newes of Cromwell’s havinge accepted the crowne, and then we shall see what will follow, the man discovers the greatest feares and perplexityes imaginable, and they say hath ever rendered himselfe ridiculous.

“ I am sorry for the inconveniencies Mr. Barton undergoes, he hath used very much to commende his lodginge to me, and it is strange he hath kept it so longe in these disorders, when he hath bene able to remoove when he would ; he shall not faile of mony as soone as wee receive any : I do assure you upon my worde, wee have not yett touched one penny since wee came, more then hath payd the debte I contracted at Antwerpe for our journey, which you will believe makes my life very uneasy. I am perswaded that as soone as wee gett mony, wee shall see you at Bruges, and I hope have somewhat else to doe. This is all I can say at present.”



On 16 May from Brussels :

“ I have to aske your pardon for havinge two of yours upon my handes unanswered, the one of the 2nd, the other of the 9th. When the first came it founde me in my bedd, unable to write, and truly though I sate up when the last came, I was not able to discharge that exercise, which I hope you have excused, for I am not naturally guilty of these omissions to my frends. I am confident I shall now see you shortly and wee shall then discourse over our businesse at large. I do not differ with you in my opinion of those persons you mention, and exspecte very little good from any of them, but from others who have been more innocent I doe, and I am of opinion you will speedily see some disorder ther, that is as soone as Cromwell hath complied with the desyres of his Parliament, and assumed the title, which I believe he hath by this tyme done. All our stay heare is for mony, of which they have not helped us to one dollar since our comming hither. Don John returned the last night from Antwerpe, and this morninge the Kinge will speake with him, and then wee shall know what wee are to trust to. In the meane tyme wee owe for every loafe wee have eaten since our comming hither. If it were otherwise, Mr. Barton should not have bene this longe unsupplied, of which I pray assure him, and that he shall heare effectually from me as soone as is possible. I will trouble you no farther at present.”

On 25 May from Brussels :

“ I have yours of the 23rd and returne the inclosed to you, which I do not enough under-

stande to be able to say what answer is to be returned to it, and I do aske your pardon for forgetting that I ever saw any letter from that person. I presume it might come to me when I was very ill and so I might not returne it to you, but indeede I have forgott it. I do confesse to you I do not love to write or speake despareringly of our businesse, yett upon my creditt I never writt worde to you that I did not myself believe, and upon such grounds, as I thinke would perswade another man to do so to, of which I shall satisfy you at large when wee meete. I was never more out of humour then I am at present, being heartily vexed and angry at this people, who though ther necessities are very greate, might provyde better for the Kinge then they have done. Wee have not yett receaved one dollar from them, thinke then in what case wee are. If wee gett away wee shall be with you the next week. Don Juan goes away they say on Saturday, the cominge of the English hath much alarumed them, so that they move before they are ready, and I doubt not will find our master every day of more use to them. Cromwell hath refused to accepte the crowne. I do still believe you will heare of some disorders ther, of which wee may make good use."

Although personally favourable, Cromwell had declined to accept the crown on the advice of his friends.

On 26 October Hyde again wrote Langdale at Brussels from Bruges :

" I have yours of the 22nd, and hope that myne of the same date came to you ; this I am gladd to

derecte immediately to yourselfe at Mr. Tomsons, wher Tom Paulden assures me you lodge, since I guesse by what Sir H. de Vic writt last to me, that he is on his way hither : Mr. Pattison is Sir Philip Musgrave, who you writt me worde in your last is gone into his country. I hope he will finde all things well ther, but he must trust that person who spake formerly with him, I looke now every howre to heare from thence. I pray if you have any way to write to Scott, lett him know that none of his have lately come to my handes, and that I writt since I hearde from him, and therfore I would be gladd if you could prescribe him a safe way of sendinge to us, and lett him send a new derECTION for himselfe. Wee shall soone know what advice to sende to our frends, and to dispatch the two gentlemen, who I suppose are at Gante, but I have hearde nothinge of them, since wee parted. Heare is no newes, but it is thought Don Juan will not retyre, till some attempte be upon Mardike. Many of the English are come to the Kinge, since his comminge thither, some to aske passes, but the most to serve. I do not finde that ther have been 2,000 men sent over for recruits."

On 2 November from Bruges :

"I have receaved yours of the 28th, which I should have acknowledged by the last post, and do the more wonder that my former of the 22nd came not to your hands, since, as it came to Bruxelles before Sir H. De Vic left it, so I am exceedingly deceaved, if he did not tell me, as he passed by this way, that he had receaved it, and ether delivered or sent it to you. I hope he carryed it with him in

his pockett, for from Newporte he sente me a greate packett for Mr. Woodwarde,<sup>1</sup> which might contayne that and other letters ; in that letter to you I returned you one of those you had sent me, I thinke from Scott, and therefore it should not be lost.

“ I perceave you thinke to save a winter journey, and that wee will be shortly with you agayne at Bruxelles, but you know, though wee like that place best, wee moove slowly from one place to another, and as it was longe before wee could gett from thence, so wee shall not I thinke returne so soone thither, as wee would be willinge to do, and I doubte wee shall finde it necessary first to speake with you heare : how shall wee else be able to make any dispatch into the north, which I am confident wee shall find necessary to doe, of which I shall give you seasonable notice, as soone as I see thinges growinge rype. I heare no more from Scott, though I have since writt two new wayes to him. I pray do me the favour to send this to Mr. Cooper, for I know not how to derecte it. I do not like Desboroughe goinge into the north, ther is somewhat that troubles Cromwell. God send us good news.”

On 16 November Sir Marmaduke Langdale wrote a discreet and reticent letter to Hyde stating that if the King did him the honour to acknowledge his services it would indeed be a great happiness to him.

Hyde replied from Bruges, 23 November :

“ On Wensday night I receaved yours of the 16th and am very much affected with the contents of it, but shall not speake one worde with the

<sup>1</sup> The husband of Hyde's landlady at Brussels.

Kinge concerninge it, till I first conferr with you, and kindly quarrell with you for beinge to reserved towards your frends. Trust me the Kinge is not without a very just sense of the meritt of your service, and a gracious inclination to give evidence to the world that he hath that sense, and if this be not done, I dare sweare it is more to be imputed to your frends, then to your enemyes, who upon my worde do not dwell at Courte, and I will not exempte myselfe from parte of the faulte, upon condition that you will confesse to me that you have not sayd all to me in this pointe that one frende ought to have done to another, though I have provoked you, and only with a desyre to know your inclination, that I might not wish you a thinge you had no minde to : I hope your businesse in those partes is over, and the Kinge is not heare, without a thought that I know of goinge to Bruxelles. I pray lett us see you heare, and when wee have conferred together, I shall then do all you will give me leave to doe, and I am very confident you will finde all done towards you you do wish, and you shall alwayes finde me at your disposall."

Postscript.—" I pray do me the favour to lett Captain Richardson know that I receaved his letter, and have spoken to the Kinge and to Colonel Blague concerninge him, and I hope to procure him a warrant's place in the guards."

On 23 November from Bruges :

" I have receaved yours of the 17th with one inclosed from Sir Richard Greenwill, which I suppose you did not see, and I do assure you, I am so desyrous to reconcile all men to me, that I will most willingly make you the judge of any dis-

pleasure any man living hath to me, and I am very much deceived if you do not finde the grounde of ther greatest prejudice to me, to be, ther havinge done me some injury, which they finde they could not forgive themselves, and so conclude that I cannot, and truly Sir Richard Greenwill can have no other quarrell against me, or excuse for all that he hath done. He does not seeme to thinke that he hath committed any faulte against me, and truly I will be so far from exactinge an acknowledgement from him that I will never in the least degree obstructe the King's favour towards him, on the contrary in any thinge that may concerne his Majesty's service sollicitous to serve him, as if you or my Lord Lieutenant (Ormonde) were ingaged in it, and this you may assure him, for how I answer such a letter as he hath writt to me, in truth I do not know.

"If you have seene the declaration he hath printed, I believe you will perswade him to thinke that he ought to aske the King's pardon, whome you will finde much more concerned then I am, and when you shall have any petition to deliver from him to his Majesty I will wayte upon you, and you shall see will do all those offices you shall requyre me to doe."

### 1658

On 13 January, Hyde was formally declared Lord Chancellor.

Cromwell now attempted to create a House of Peers of persons who he thought would be favourable to his rule. Sixty persons, consisting for the



most part of men who had risen to prominence during the wars and since, were summoned to a Parliament that met on 20 January. The Commons refused to acknowledge them, and Cromwell dissolved Parliament. Discontent was general throughout the country. Cromwell went in daily fear of assassination, and wore a coat of mail under his clothes. He was always armed with sword and pistol, and when he ventured from Whitehall was accompanied by a strong guard of soldiers. The death of his favourite daughter affected him greatly.

The exiled Royalists still continued hoping that one day they might return to their friends and homes in England.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was created by deed dated Bruges, 4 February, Baron Langdale of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor for "his great fortitude, fidelity, prudence and industry in his behaviour to his Majesty's father, of ever blessed memory, and how that from the beginning of the late unhappy divisions he had zealously and actively asserted his Majesty's interest."

On 2 August Hyde wrote from Antwerp to Langdale at Brussels :

"I have got as neere Bruxelles as I durst, and have obtained leave of the Kinge to returne agayne to Breda, wher I have yett a little businesse

to doe, and shall not be willinge to see Bruxelles till the Kinge can gett some mony. His Majesty will tell you what he proposes of pleasure to himselfe from the country ayre, ten or twelve dayes hence, when I wish you were in a condition to hawke and hunte with him, and then wee should meet.

“ I know not what to say of our frends in Englande, who must have more tyme to recover ther spiritts and wee to recover our reputation with them, which is taken from us by greate industry from these parts. The Kinge will tell you what excellent humours Sir John Marley hath bene in, which I believe will take off all minde from you of venturinge with him. I am sure I shall not desyre to manage any designe with him. If younge Liddall will withdraw from this towne and lyve in a Hollande garyson, I shall assist him the best I can, till wee can gett mony to send him away, and then he shall attende you for your instruction, when you shall thinke the season rype for it. If I meete with any good newes, I shall not fayle to send it to you, and shall be gladd to knowe of any thinge come to your notice of moment.”

On the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell died of tertian ague, 3 September.

His eldest son, Richard Cromwell, succeeded to the office of Lord Protector. The army which had supported his father scorned to acknowledge a man who was no soldier and a movement headed by Fleetwood, brother-in-law of the late Protector,

was supported by the officers of the army. Parliament was dissolved and Richard Cromwell retired quietly into private life after holding office for eight months.

### 1659

The change of government which the military leaders Fleetwood, Lambert and Desborough brought about caused them embarrassment: they proved incapable of forming a government themselves, and the old "Rump" Parliament was recalled, and met 7 May. A quarrel soon ensued between the "Rump" and the army. Parliament sought to deprive Fleetwood, Lambert and Desborough of their commissions. This brought about a crisis, and Lambert marched to the House with a body of soldiers, and ejected the "Rump."

A period of confusion ensued.

Despite the uneasiness in England and the disgruntled people, matters dragged on without any immediate hope of relief for the exiled Royalists.

In a letter from Brussels on 12 July, Secretary Nicholas states: "Lord Langdale is here, but keeps his room, being lame with the gout."

The zeal and impatience of the Royalists in England obliged the King to sanction a rising in August. It was abortive.

Writing from Brussels on 4 October to the Marquess Ormonde, Nicholas states :

“ Lord Langdale has gone into Germany to be ready for his Majesty’s service on occasion.”

That the King and his Ministers were in pecuniary embarrassment more than usual, and were suffering from the effect of the defeat of the King’s object in England in August that year, is evident from a letter of Nicholas to Lord Colepepper, dated from Brussels on 5 October :

“ We are here in extremities for want of money due to his Majesty, his creditors are grown impatient and troublesome, and the necessities of his family are incredible. But we hope when he is there, some effectual course will be taken, at least for payment of arrears, which will but in part satisfy the debt owing here. Lord Langdale has gone into Germany to live in the abbey of Lambsheim (?), a countryman of his who is abbot there having invited him, and there he will continue till there is occasion for his services. The dukes are still at Breda, and will not be back till next week.”

On 17 October Lord Langdale wrote to Nicholas from Lambspring :

“ I give you an account of myself, that, if I am thought fit for or worth an employment from the King, you may know where to find me. I had a tedious chargeable journey, but am recompensed by my lord abbot’s kind entertainment, and freed

from the intolerable charge I was at in Brussels. I fear I was too true a prophet when I told you the King would get nothing ready to go to England this winter. Great princes take long to solicit in such business as this. I hope the distractions in England will continue, so that when he can get forces, he will not want opportunity to enter."

Langdale also wrote to Hyde on the same date and received the following reply :

"8 Nov. BRUXELLES.

"I have yesterday receaved your favour of the 17th (Oct.) and am very gladd you are gott well to your journeys end, before the cold weather, for winter is not yett come upon us. If my frende Peter be a good clarke, I wish he would send me your severall gists from this place, wher you lay every night, that wee may know the way thither : I hope you will not stirr from thence, but enjoy yourselfe in that retyrement, till you finde it necessary to returne, which truly may be very soone. Our master is in Spayne, but I do confesse to you he was longer on his way thither then wee imagined it possible, and wee do not doubt but he will finde both crowns very full of resolution to assiste him to the purpose, of which very much is spoken both in the courtes of Spayne and France, and truly if ther inclinations had bene otherwise before, this revolution in Englande would easily shew them how unfirme any allyance they can make with that people must be. It was on Thursday was fortnight, that after severall disputes betweene some officers of the army and the Parliament, upon which the Parliament had cashiered

Lamberte, Desborough, Berry, Kelsy and some others, Lamberte drew together so many officers and regiments of the army as served to dissolve the Parliament, which had the day before, out of an apprehension of some force, made an Acte, which they printed, that the army should be governed by seven comissyoners, Fleetewoode, Ludlow, Munke, Haslerigge, Overton, Walton, and Hirberte Morly ; and another, that it shall be treason to leavy mony without the consent of Parliament. What these comissyoners will take upon them to doe in the army, and whether Lamberte or they will be most obeyed, wee yett know not. Fitch, who is a creature of Haslerigge's, hath the tower of London, Haslerigg himselfe Tinmoth, Berwicke and Carlisle, Overton Hull ; whether Kelsy, or the man the Parliament sent downe to take possessyon of it (Col. Dixwell), be in Dover Castle, I know not, for since the day of the dissolution of Parliament, when an expresse gott over to Calice, no letters have bene suffered to come over, nor, which is stranger, have they suffered our packett bote to go into Dover, or to send in the letters, but have compelled both to returne to Ostende, so that wee know nothinge that is done but what wee gett from Dunkirke, wher they say they are in unexpressable confusyon, and that the nation will be involved in a new and a bloody warr ; many of our friends who were gott to this syde the sea are returned thither, in confidence of being well ther. This is the present state of affayrs ther ; as soone as I know any thinge more particularly, you shall be sure to heare from me. Though I would not have your Lordship ingage your person in that or any other warr, but of your owne master, yett I would be gladd to know what con-



dition any strangers finde in that service, because sometimes I heare some of our frends speake of lookinge that way, as a sure place of subsistance, and I pray tell me, what will be the ende of that warr."

## CHAPTER IX

### THOUGHTS OF HOME

**O**NE can imagine the satisfaction the information of the dissolution of Parliament by the army must have been to Lord Langdale. He had last been in England in 1650 when on the Prince of Wales's instructions he had visited the Isle of Man to assist and advise the Earl of Derby in the safeguarding of that Island. He had been decreed by Parliament the previous year to be proscribed and banished as an enemy and traitor, to die without mercy wherever he should be found within the limits of the nation, and his estates had been confiscated.

His estate at Holme-on-Spalding-Moor was now in the hands of its late owner, Sir William Constable, which was probably a source of satisfaction to that Parliamentarian, but little to that of Langdale or his children. The property at Gatenby was also under sequestration, and the children had little to live upon. A petition was presented, dated 11 July, 1651, by "Mrs. (Mistress) Lenox Langdaile and the rest of Sir Mar-

maduke Langdale's children " and was rendered to the Yorkshire Committee in the following words :

" that the last year Major Coperthwaite farmed your petitioner's father's estate at Gatenby, that they had an order for the fifth part but the tenants refuse, notwithstanding your order, to pay any, alledging that Major Genl Lambert had the estate granted him by Act of Parliament, that they have little to live upon and will have less if they be deprived of the fifth part. They pray you will reorder the tenants, notwithstanding Maj Genl Lambert's grant, to pay the fifth part for the last year."

" To the Yorkshire Committee."

A fifth part of the estate at Gatenby had been allotted to Langdale's children, and they had difficulty in getting the tenants to pay the fifth part, which was insufficient, at the best, to live upon.

The Committee of York endorsed the petition :

" As the matter is not in this Committee's power they recommend it to the Committee for Compounding at Haberdashers' Hall.

" Tho. Bouchier.

Ra. Rymer.

" John Geldart.

Tho. Dickinson."

Nothing further seems to have come of it, and the same year a petition dated 17 September was again made in the following terms :

Disburs'd for D<sup>r</sup>. Matma Duke Langdayles  
 Children, unto their grandmothers death  
 as followeth.

In p<sup>r</sup>sentis: 24: yeards of blacke sarges  
 April y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> for other things then bought 8 8 8  
 of James Blackbored by M<sup>r</sup> Lynox } 9-8-6  
 as appoates by M<sup>r</sup> Blackbeards bill  
 It. paid to him for a staffe & other things 1 5 8  
 May y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> as appoates by note 10-11-4  
 It. for y<sup>e</sup> probaton of M<sup>r</sup> Langdayles will, &  
 for their tuitons & other fees about y<sup>e</sup> same 2-13-2  
 It. to M<sup>r</sup> Hewley May y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> for 2: yeards of  
 a halfe of bayes for wastcoats as appoates } 0-14-0  
 by note  
 It. for ten yeards of linnen & two flamm<sup>e</sup> } 1-5-6  
 for M<sup>r</sup> Lynox & M<sup>r</sup> Mary  
 It. given v<sup>r</sup>al. Lambert to buy her a  
 gowne att M<sup>r</sup> Lynoxs desire } 2-10-0  
 It. for a bibbe for M<sup>r</sup> Matie } 0-6-0  
 It. for a paire of shooes for M<sup>r</sup> Lynox } 0-2-10  
 It. paid to M<sup>r</sup> Nelson for part of y<sup>e</sup> fune-  
 rall expences & for y<sup>e</sup> weeklie reckoninge  
 since M<sup>r</sup> Langdayles death as appoates } 9-13-3  
 by his hand att y<sup>e</sup> booke  
 It. paid M<sup>r</sup> Nelson June y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> for his  
 weeklie reckoninge for y<sup>e</sup> 3: last weeks } 10-9-5  
 It. given to M<sup>r</sup> Nelson y<sup>e</sup> same day as  
 appoates by his bill of disbursm<sup>ts</sup> } 10-13-10  
 for y<sup>e</sup> gentlewomen; y<sup>e</sup> bill dated  
 May y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>  
 It. to M<sup>r</sup> Blackbeard for 3: yeards 3: quart<sup>rs</sup>  
 of a halfe of theanay for M<sup>r</sup> James wastcoats } 0-13-0  
 & two tumbes, as appoates by his note  
 June y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>  
 It. a paire of stockins for M<sup>r</sup> Anne } 0-2-4

FACSIMILE OF AN ACCOUNT SHEET CONTAINING PARTICULARS OF  
 DISBURSEMENTS MADE ON BEHALF OF LANGDALE'S CHILDREN  
 FROM THE ONE-FIFTH ALLOWED THE FAMILY FROM THE  
 GATENBY SEQUESTERED ESTATE.

By courtesy of Mrs. Harford.



“Petition of Philip, Lennox, Mary and Anne, son and daughters of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, that on their petition formerly presented you were pleased to order them a fifth part of their father's estate sequestered for his delinquency, yet they have not had the benefit thereof as some part in Gataby was granted away by the Parliament; they pray they may receive their fifth part of that estate which is not granted away with arrears.”

On the same date as the petition was presented it was endorsed :

“On the petition of Philip, Lenox, Mary and Ann Langdale. Ordered to be referred to the Committee of Yorkshire to pay to the petitioners  $\frac{1}{5}$  of revenue of their father's estate under sequestration and all arrears due since the settling part of the estate on Maj Genl Lambert and Sir Wm Constable unless they can show cause to the contrary”

The manor and estate of North Dalton, where Langdale had lived for some years after his marriage, and before he purchased Holme, was also under sequestration, but on 28 September, 1652, this estate was purchased by Robert Prickett who subsequently married a daughter of Langdale, and an order was issued by the Committee at York dated 28 September, 1652, discharging the sequestration of the manor in the following terms :



" Robert Prickett having bought North Dalton manor, formerly belonging to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, from the Treason Trustees the sequestration is to be discharged."

A first cousin of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the head of the family in the senior line, who is described as " of Lanthrop," and who possessed estates in Lanthrop, Skirlaw, and other places, lost two-thirds of his estates which were under sequestration for " recusancy." No rents exceeding 40 shillings per annum were to be allowed him on the Committee's order without first approval of the Committee. And only one-third of his estate was to be allowed.

Mary Langdale, Langdale's third surviving child, was married to Robert Prickett at North Dalton on 8 May, 1654, she being then at the age of twenty-four, and went to reside at Wressle Castle, near Howden, Yorkshire, a great part of which had been recently demolished by the order of the York Committee.

On 17 July Sir Marmaduke Langdale's children petitioned for relief, " according to a report of last Parliament." The petition was laid aside.

On 24 January, 1655, Marmaduke Langdale, the eldest son, petitioned that Sancton and Moorcroft rectories, worth £100 a year, " the only remainder of his father's estate," may be conferred on him

and the other children. The petition was dismissed.

The mother of Sir Marmaduke Langdale had died in 1645 believing her beloved son dead. Ann Langdale's will (Sir Marmaduke Langdale's mother's) is dated 5 February, 1645 :

"The Will of Ann Langdale of Beverley. February 5, 1645. Anne Langdayle, of Pighull, in the Parish of St John in Beverley, Widow. To Eliz Wyvell, my dau, those 2 beds and the furniture with them I lent her at St. John tide last. To Anne Sunderland, her daughter, my best plush petticoat. To Phillip Langdayle, my grandchild, all my lands and tenements at Gatenbye, co York. All the rest of goods and chattels unbequeathed I give to Lynox, Marie, and Anne Langdayle, my grandchildren, whom I make joint and sole executors, and I desire Marmaduke Prickett of Allerthorpe, Richard Meadley, and Wm Nelson, my servant, to be supervisors, and I desire their care over my 4 fatherless grandchildren, and I charge my grandchildren to be ruled and advised by them."

Her daughter Elizabeth mentioned in the will was Sir Marmaduke Langdale's only sister. She was the wife of Abraham Sunderland of High Sunderland and Coley, West Yorkshire. On the outbreak of the civil wars she had left Coley Hall along with her daughter for York, her son Langdale Sunderland and his troop of horse conducting them safely. At York she was met by her brother,

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, and passed on to her mother's house at Pighill, Beverley. Her husband, Abraham Sunderland, joined the King's garrison at Pontefract, and there he died during the siege, and before its relief by his brother-in-law, Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Elizabeth Sunderland married one of the Wyvilles for her second husband. Her son, Langdale Sunderland, who previous to the war lived with his young bride at High Sunderland Hall, the ancestral home of the Sunderland family, sent his wife to her father's house at Fixby, Yorkshire, at the outbreak of the wars, and served under his uncle, Sir Marmaduke Langdale. He commanded a troop of the northern horse at Marston Moor, where he was wounded. After lying under a dangerous sickness for a year and upwards he rendered himself to Major-General Poyntz in November, 1645, and was allowed to live quietly with his young wife and father-in-law at Fixby under the power and obedience of Parliament. He was fined for his participation in the wars, and the amount was fixed by the Commissioners at £878—a large sum in those days, and especially large considering the grievous times. To pay the fine he was obliged to sell High Sunderland and Coley, the former of which had through five centuries been the inheritance of his family, while the Coley Hall estate had been with the family since 1572, when Richard

Sunderland became possessed by purchase of the reversion of the estate from Alexander Rishworth, of the Heath, Wakefield. From the wreck of his estate and other sources Langdale Sunderland managed to save sufficient to purchase the Ackton and Featherstone properties. The property is now honeycombed with extensive collieries, amongst them those of Lady Cunliffe-Lister, the wife of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, President of the Board of Trade, who inherited the Ackton Hall Colliery, Featherstone, from her grandfather, the late Lord Masham of Swinton Park, Masham, Yorkshire. Langdale Sunderland was not unaware of the treasures that lay beneath the surface of his estates. He himself tapped it. His advice to his sons on Yorkshire local mining conditions shows some wisdom :

“ The coal mines on Featherstone Moor, if discreetly managed, with a true banksman, bottom man, and four ‘ rolls ’ upon the coal wall, will not be much short of a clear yearly rent of £200. Whether Abram or Brian be master of it, observe these following directions :

“ Let him keep a true bottom man what wages soever he gives. Let the bottom man come to him every week, to give an account of every man’s work, and confide in no other collier belonging to the wark. Have no conversation with them, for colliers hate truth or true dealings, as much as the devil hates a saint or a religious person. Observe, also, what wages the bottom man sets down for

'byewark.' If the colliers complain be sure you give them less. Never outstrip the bottom's order for wages in bywark. And how to know a true bottom man and bankman, you must observe, if the colliers love them, you swear safely they are knaves. The whole trust lies in the bottom man and banksman, and only them and none but them. This I have experienced and know to be true.

"Witness my hand, January, 1671.

"LANGDALE SUNDERLAND."

Lord Langdale, a devout Catholic, would find the peace and rest afforded at Lambspring, and the companionship of Abbot Gascoigne, a fellow Yorkshireman, and the English Benedictine monks, very congenial after his somewhat miserable experiences of the past ten years. He would be able to make a good retreat, and as he was worn out by privations and years of discord and warfare, such a retreat must have presented comfort both to his soul and body. Possibly some news of his growing family at Gatenby came to him, but whatever correspondence there ever was no longer exists, and it is almost likely that Langdale would have treasured during his lifetime those childish epistles and other letters containing news of them in the same way as he carefully kept the letters from his friends Nicholas and Hyde. He must have given a passing thought to his sister whose husband he knew to be dead; whether he knew of her marrying again is not known. Of his only nephew,

Langdale Sunderland, he probably heard little or nothing. For ten years he lived an exile on the Continent, with little or no means of subsistence from the outside world, until, driven by extreme poverty, he had been graciously received by the Abbot of Lamspring Abbey.

Doubtless his children thought much of him, wondering if they were ever to see him again. Marmaduke Prickett of Allerthorpe had the control of the family after their grandmother's death. His son, Robert Prickett, purchased in 1652, from the Treason Trustees, Langdale's sequestered estate and manor of North Dalton, and after his father's death married the second daughter Mary. The elder daughter, Lenox, had married Cuthbert Harrison, of Acaster Selby, and had died on the 6th and been buried on the 8th February, 1658, at Stillingfleet. His second son, Philip, was in training for the law, and was admitted at Gray's Inn, 4 March, 1655-6. Marmaduke, his son and heir, evidently employed his time in attending to those interests the family still had in the sequestered estates of Holme and Gatenby.



## CHAPTER X

**L**ORD LANGDALE complied with the request of Hyde, made in his letter of 8 November from Brussels, that he should send a gist of the places which he lay at every night, "that we may know the way thither," by letter dated 14 November, and received the following reply :

"10 Dec. BRUXELLES.

"I have received yours of the 14th (Nov.) your stile, upon the 8th of ours, and I thanke you very heartily for the gists of your journey, for though I doe not thinke I shall get time to visit those parts—and yet I doe assure you I doe very much long to see the worthy Abbot, and have a singular esteeme of him—yet I am very glad to finde that wee are within so few days journey of each other. I pray tell mee in your next how neere you are to Ham-burgh, for it is not impossible that a good opportunity may be offered for you to embarke from thence. The same man who began a correspond-ence with us before you left this place from the Duke of Sax, continues the same importunity with the greatest undertakings for men, money and shipping that you can imagine, and truly I doe not thinke but when they see the King have greater friends, those Hans Townes will be forwards enough

to change their allyance. I see your Lordship is very hard to be converted in point of the two crowns assisting our master, which I am confident they will doe, and that wee shall not loose this winter, all things being as ripe for us in England as can be wished, the agreement that was spoken of the last weeke betweene Lambert and Monke being now confessedly vanished, and the animosities improved to the height, some officers and souldiers runn every day from Monke to Lambert, and others from Lambert to Monke, who keepes himselfe within his Scotch quarters, and advances none of his forces beyond Berwick, and endeavours to strengthen himselfe by the Scots, who they say will adhere to him, and therefore it is probable hee hath given them satisfaction : Lambert is at Newcastle expecting additionall forces from London, where they are jealous both of the one and the other, and say they will both conspire together in the end to set up the King. Indeed the confusion is great throughout the Kingdome, and the counties about London, as Essex, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and some others, have associated themselves together under a resolution of paying no more taxes or impossitions but what shall be assessed by Parliament, and it is beleevved this combination will be assented to throughout the Kingdome, and you will easily beleieve that will doe much of our business. I can now tell you that the King came to St. Colombe, where the Queene is, on Friday last, and intended to stay there six or seven dayes, so that wee may confidently looke for him at Bruxelles by the end of the next weeke. Hee says hee is abundantly satisfied with his journey, and with the resolution of both crowns. I neede not excuse the usinge a better hande then my owne,

and the truth is the weather is so badd, that it makes my (head) ake to much to use my owne."

## 1660

Some two months later Hyde wrote to Lord Langdale :

"12 Feb. [1660]. BRUXELLES.

"I have receaved your Lordship's of the 9th of the last moneth, and did I thinke aske your pardon in my former for usinge another hande, beinge at that tyme indisposed with a great headach, and most of my frends do obliege me rather to dictate to another hande, then to use my owne, which they finde so ill that they can scarce reade it, and I must tell you, though I thanke God I am in all other respects as well as when you left me, I finde a marvellous decay in my eyes, which makes me do most of my businesse by other hands : I know not how my letters finde the way to you, but I write every fortnight, that you may know how our affayres goe. Though Don Louis (de Haro) gave the Kinge all the promises imaginable at partinge, that he would cleere all arrears to him by the end of the last moneth, wee have yett receaved no bills, which I hope wee shall do shortly ; the promises continuinge still very fayrefrom both crownes, in which I perceave you have no fayth. I know no more of the Hamborough merchante or his Duke of Sax. then I did when you were heare. Some other letters he wrote with greate undertaking, but I do not finde by all the enquiry I can make, that

the man is of valew, and of late wee have hearde no more from him. I finde you have no opinion of ther fallinge out amongst themselves in Englande, in which ther is greate hope you may be deceived. I have given the worthy Abbott a longe accounte of all that wee heare, from heare, upon which it may be you may change your opinion. I confesse to your Lordship, it is not in my power, to fear the settlinge a commonwealth ther, the persons ingaged in that intrigue beinge men of no interest or credit to establish such a worke, and the designe beinge odious to all the three nations. I do beseech you after all this, not to thinke that the expectation of any thinge at home makes us neglecte makinge all possible preparations abroade; trust me, nothings is omitted to that purpose, and I hope I may be able before a moneth be at an ende to give you some accounte of the progresse that is made that way. The Kinge commends him very kindly to your Lordshipp, and in this terrible weather, wee all have some envy towards you, that you are in a place, wher you can wante no fyre, which wee all doe; it hath bene the sharpest season that was ever since I knew how to distinguish, and when it will change wee yett know not. For the rest I must referr you to the worthy Abbott, beseechinge you to believe that I am alwayes at your disposall."

The Abbey of Lambspring in which Lord Langdale sought refuge is situated in the Bishopric of Hildesheim in Westphalia. After being occupied and despoiled by the Lutherans it was given over by the Bursfield Chapter to the English Bene-

dictines who settled there in 1644 and maintained an English community until 1803, when the abbey was suppressed and the monks were expelled by the Prussian Government. The community was re-established at Broadway, Worcestershire, in 1834, and later the few surviving monks joined the new foundation at Fort Augustus in 1878. The Anglo-Benedictine Congregation founded in 1617 possessed five monasteries, of which the abbey of SS. Adrian and Denis, Martyrs, Lambspring, was one, with a lord abbot and thirty monks. At the time of Lord Langdale's sojourn there, the abbot was John Placid Gascoigne, the son of Sir John Gascoigne of Parlington and Barnbow, Yorkshire, and his wife Anne Ingelby. Gascoigne was born at Barnbow in 1599. He was sent on the English Mission in the Northern Province in 1634 and laboured in Yorkshire for sixteen years. He became Abbot of Lambspring in 1651 and held that office until his death there in 1681. The last Abbot of Lambspring was Maurus Heatley, who resigned in 1802, after reigning sixty years (1782-1802). The relics of Blessed Oliver Plunket were preserved at Lambspring until they were brought to Downside by Cardinal Gasquet, O.S.B.

In the confusion that followed the ejection of the "Rump" Parliament, public attention in England turned to Monk, the commander of the

English army in Scotland. Monk refused to acknowledge the Government set up by the officers, and commenced to march on London with his army. Lambert marched north to intercept him, was deserted by his soldiers, and Monk reached London without opposition 3 February, 1660.

Monk, a secret and taciturn man, had given no evidence as to what party he belonged. At length he declared for a free Parliament, and the news was received with the greatest joy. The old Long Parliament was recalled, and the members who had been excluded by Colonel Pride, along with the other members, took their seats. They then decreed their own dissolution on 16 March, and issued writs for a new election.

During this time Monk had been in secret communication with Charles, and when the new Parliament met on 25 April, letters were read from Charles, and a declaration known as the "Declaration of Breda" was issued by Charles to the whole nation, promising pardon to all for past offences excepting those hereafter mentioned by Parliament, and liberty to tender consciences.

In anticipation of the Restoration, Lord Langdale was appointed by Charles II, by patent dated 12 March, 1660, "Lieutenant in the West



Riding of the County of York and within all corporate and privileged places within the same Riding as well as within the Liberties as without."

## CHAPTER XI

### HOME

**O**N 8 May Charles was proclaimed King, and on 29 May landed at Dover, accompanied among others by his ministers, Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir Edward Hyde. The King was conducted in triumph to London, where he was greeted with the most extravagant joy.

The Marquess of Newcastle, who had resided at Antwerp since 1648, where he had occupied himself in the organisation and running of a riding school and stable, which he personally superintended, and in writing a book which he had published there in 1657, entitled *La Methode et Invention Nouvelle de dresser les Chevaux*, illustrated by Diepenbeke, returned to his native England, as did most other of the Royalist refugees, including Lord Langdale. Prince Rupert, who had remained on the Continent since leaving England fifteen years ago, also returned to his cousin's Court at Whitehall, and subsequently became engaged with a noted band of merchant adventurers into Hudson Bay. The one great wish of the Royalists was to restore their

depleted fortunes, and trade found a larger outlet through their efforts.

Lord Langdale with all speed visited his family in Yorkshire and was welcomed among others by his son and heir Marmaduke, a grown man of thirty-three. He was placed in possession of his sequestered estate of Holme-on-Spalding-Moore, and went to reside at the Hall built in the park there, and took over his duties as Lieutenant of the West Riding.

The country was in a very disturbed state. The officers and officials of the late Government and the discharged Parliamentary soldiers roved about the country in small bands, robbing and pilfering from the town and country inhabitants. Ribald illustrated broad-sheets of disgusting proclivities were on sale in the shops of London and in the large towns, and were hawked by pedlars throughout the villages ; the ethical character of the people was in great part debased. An air of irresponsibility covered the land ; women and maidens stayed indoors or only ventured out of doors when assured of safe company.

### 1661

On 3 January Lord Langdale in a letter to Secretary Nicholas from Holme stated that "as Parliament has dissolved without settling the



HOLME HALL, YORKSHIRE, THE RESIDENCE OF LORD LANGDALE.

By courtesy of Mrs. Harford.



militia, it must be done in the old accustomed way. There is a sect of persons, called Quakers, who hold meetings in several parts, and lead exemplary lives, accounting persecution an honour." He asked how the King wished them to be dealt with, and whether they fell within the last concessions. Some wished him "to interrupt their meetings and imprison them, and offer to raise volunteer troops of horse, which are necessary, on account of the multitude of cashiered officers and soldiers all over the country" who are "ready to fall into their old trade." He asked directions "as the Lower House spoke of remonstrating against raising volunteer horse." He hoped soon to report "a considerable force ready to suppress discomfort."

William Lowther, writing from Swillington on 12 January, bears out what Lord Langdale stated.

He informed Secretary Nicholas that he found the "discontented grown more bold and abusing their liberty. In all the great towns Quakers go naked on market-days through the town, crying 'Woe to Yorkshire,' and declare strange doctrine against the Government, some officers being amongst them." It had "been moved in the sessions at Wakefield for a stop to be put thereto." He had an order passed "to which any additions can be made that the Council thinks good" and "copies



are sent through the West Riding." "A proclamation to the same effect would do good, especially if a clause were added for securing the arms of persons notoriously suspected to be concerned in the late plot." "Lord Langdale," he stated, "did not proceed in the settling of the militia, because he expected some rules limiting the powers of the Lord Lieutenants to be sent, but they have not arrived." He reminded Nicholas of his petition, which he withdrew "because of the bill in the House for calling all accountants to account," which he "now renews" as that bill "has not passed."

On 1 February the King's commands for the Coronation were issued in the following words :

"WHITEHALL.

"Right trusty and wel-beloved wee greete you well. Wheras we have appointed the 23rd day of April next for the solemnity of our Royall coronation, and the day before being the 22nd of the same moneth for our proceeding from our Tower of London through the same citty unto our Pallace of Westminster according to the custome heretofore used in that behalfe :—These are therefore to will and commaund you, all excuses sett apart, that you make your personall attendance on us at the times and places above mentioned, furnished and appointed as to your ranke and quality appertaineth, there to doe and performe such services as shalbe required and belong unto you, whereof you are not to faile, soe wee bid you heartily farewell."

Lord Langdale replied to Nicholas from Holme on 7 April. He stated that "he hoped the King would excuse his attendance at the coronation" as he is "too poore to bear the journey, and can neither borrow money, nor sell land to obtain it, the people being afraid of a change, and therefore cautious."

So poor was he, he petitioned for a lease of the excise of Yorkshire at the rent paid by the present "farmers," giving as his reasons that he "had lost much for his loyalty, and had met with no advantage since the Restoration."

On 5 March Lord Langdale wrote to Nicholas from Holme, "the militia and volunteers of the West Riding of Yorkshire are coming forward; the officers wish to have the trophy money which was gathered in before the Restoration, to buy colours, drums, &c, as Lord Belasyse has had for the East Riding, Mr. Blackbeard, town clerk of York, holds it." He thanks Nicholas for "his commission for York, it will show them all corporations do not aim at absolute government among themselves." He states that an Order has been passed in the Session held at Wakefield, "forbidding the holding of large public meetings in the West Riding by Quakers, Anabaptists, and others who disown magistracy, declare blasphemous opinions, and try and seduce liege subjects to distrust the peace." Justices of Peace are "to

cause offenders to give security for good behaviour or to commit them to gaol."

A few months prior to his death Lord Langdale was visited by Mr. Stapleton of Carlton, who described him as "in poor health." He died at Holme Hall, 5 August, 1661, in his sixty-third year of age.

It is stated that his eldest son, who was his father's constant companion since he had returned to Holme, dare not tell him of signs of his death, in such awe did he and all the children stand of him, and that Lord Langdale, not expecting death, died without receiving the viaticum of the Church.

There was a Catholic priest at Holme from the Restoration (about 1661 to 1735).

He was carried to Sancton, the ancestral estate of the Langdale family, and then in the occupation of his cousin, and laid to rest in the Sanctuary on the right side of the altar in the ancient church of All Saints, among his ancestors. Over the grave was placed a large stone, engraved in a scroll with these words :

Here lyeth the Body of the  
Right Hon<sup>bl</sup> Marmaduke  
L<sup>d</sup> Langdale Baron of Holme  
in Spaldingmoore who dyed  
the fifth of August Añ Dom̃.  
1661

Banks says of him :

“ He was esteemed a serious and wise man, of most scholarlike accomplishments and of good husbandry.”

He is described by Lloyd :

“ He was a very lean and much mortified man, so that the enemy called him ghost (and deservedly, they were so haunted by him) ; and carried that gravity in his converse, that integrity and generosity in his dealings, that strictness in his devotion, that experience, moderation, and wariness in his counsel, and that weight in his discourse, as very much endeared strangers to his royal master's cause, and to his own person, in all the countries he travelled, as he did in many ; and to all the armies he engaged in, as he did in most then afoot in Europe, till he was restored with his Majesty in 1660 ; when, after appearing in Parliament as Baron Langdale of Holme, he returned to his considerable estates in Yorkshire ; having lost £160,000 in his Majesty's service, without any other recompense, than the conscience of having suffered in a good cause, acquitted himself bravely, and played the man.”

No more earnest or better appreciation of mortal man was ever penned.

S a n s i t   c o r d a .

## CHAPTER XII

1662 and 1685

**C**HARLES II married in 1662 Catherine of Braganza, daughter of the King of Portugal, and received with her as dowry £500,000, the settlement of Tangier and Bombay, and free trade to India and the Brazils. There were no children of the marriage.

Charles remembered with gratitude those who had contributed to his preservation following the battle of Worcester, and to many gave substantial proof.

The final end of Lord Langdale's Royal master was one of peace. The death-bed scene is graphically told by Father Hudleston, the priest who had stood him in such good stead after Worcester :

“ Upon Thursday, the Fifth of February, 1685, between Seven and Eight a Clock in the Evening, I was sent for in haste to the Queen's Backstairs at Whitehall, and desir'd to bring with me all things necessary for a dying Person. Accordingly I came, and was order'd not to stir from thence till further notice. Being thus oblig'd to wait, and not having had time to bring along with me the

most holy Sacrament of the Altar, I was in some anxiety how to procure it : In this conjecture (the Divine Providence so disposing) Father Bento de Lemos, a Portuguez, came thither ; and, understanding the circumstance I was in, readily profer'd himself to go to St. James's, and bring the most holy Sacrement along with him.

“ Soon after his departure, I was call'd into the King's Bed-Chamber, where approaching to the Bed-side, and kneeling down, I in brief presented His Majesty with what service I could perform for God's Honor, and the Happiness of his Soul, at this last Moment, on which Eternity depends. The King then declared himself, That he desired to die in the Faith and Communion of the holy Roman Catholic Church ; That he was most heartily sorry for all the Sins of his Life past, and particularly for that he had deferr'd his Reconciliation so long ; That, through the Merits of Christ's Passion, he hoped for Salvation ; That he was in Charity with all the World ; That with all his Heart he pardoned his Enemies, and desired Pardon of all those whom he had any ways offended ; And that if it pleased God to spare him longer Life, he would amend it ; detesting all Sin.

“ I then advertis'd His Majesty of the Benefit and Necessity of the Sacrament of Penance ; which Advertisement the King most willingly embracing, made an exact Confession of his whole Life with exceeding Compunction and Tenderness of Heart ; which ended, I desired him, in farther sign of Repentance, and true sorrow for his sins, to say with me this little short Act of Contrition.

“ ‘ O My Lord God, with my whole Heart and Soul I detest all the Sins of my Life past, for the



Love of Thee, whom I love above all things ; and I firmly purpose, by thy Holy Grace, never to offend thee more. Amen, sweet Jesus, Amen. Into thy hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my Soul. Mercy, sweet Jesus, Mercy.'

" This he pronounced with a clear and audible Voice ; which done, and his Sacramental Penance admitted, I gave him Absolution.

" After some time thus spent, I asked His Majesty, If he did not also desire to have the other Sacraments of Holy Church administered to him ? He reply'd, By all means ; I desire to be Partaker of all the Helps and Succors necessary and expedient for a Catholic Christian in my condition. I added, And doth not your Majesty also desire to receive the precious Body and Blood of our dear Savior Jesus Christ in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist ? His Answer was this : If I am worthy, pray fail not to let me have it. I then told him, It would be brought to him very speedily ; and desir'd His Majesty that in the interim he would give me leave to proceed to the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. He reply'd, With all my heart. I then Annoyed him ; which as soon perform'd, I was call'd to the Door, whither the Blessed Sacrament was now brought, and delivered to me.

" Then returning to the King, I entreated His Majesty that he would prepare and dispose himself to receive : At which the King raising up himself, said, Let me meet my Heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my Bed. But I humbly begg'd His Majesty to repose himself. God Almighty, who saw his Heart, would accept of his good Intention. The King then having again recited the fore-mentioned Act of Contrition with

me, he received the most Holy Sacrament for his Viaticum, with all the symptoms of Devotion imaginable. The Communion being ended, I read the usual prayers, termed the Recommendation of the Soul, appointed by the Church for Catholics in his condition. After which the King desir'd the Act of Contrition, O my Lord God, &c., to be repeated. This done, for his last Spiritual Encouragement I said :

“ ‘ Your Majesty hath now received the Comfort and Benefit of all the Sacraments that a good Christian (ready to depart out of this World) can have, or desire. Now it rests only, that you think upon the Death and Passion of our dear Savior Jesus Christ, of whom I present unto you this Figure (shewing him a Crucifix). Lift up therefore the eyes of your Soul, and represent to your self your sweet Saviour here crucified ; bowing down his Head to kiss you ; his Arms stretched out to embrace you ; his Body & Members all bloody & pale with Death to redeem you : And as you see him dead and fixed upon the Cross for your Redemption, so have his Remembrance fixed and fresh in your heart ; beseech him with all humility, that his most precious Blood may not be shed in vain for you ; and that it will please him, by the Merits of his bitter Death and Passion, to pardon and forgive you all your Offences, and finally to receive your Soul into his Blessed Hands ; and when it shall please him to take it out of this transitory World, to grant you a joyful Resurrection, and an Eternal Crown of Glory in the next. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.’ ”

“ So recommending His Majesty on my knees, with all the transport of Devotion I was able, to

the Divine Mercy and Protection, I withdrew out of the Chamber."

A narrative dated 5 February in the handwriting of the Duke of York, the King's brother, who succeeded to the throne as James II, gives a further account of the death-bed scene :

" The Phisitians having declared the 4 : day of his Ma : sicknesse that there was no hope left of his recovery, two of the Bishops came to his bedside, and sayd the office of the visitation of the sick, and when they came to that part ont where the sick person is exorted, not commanded, to make an auricular confession one of them the Bis : of Bath and Wells made a short exortation to the King, and after having asked him whether he hartely repented him of his sins, upon his answering he did, pronounced the words of absolution, and then having ended that office, asked the King and exorted him, to receve the Sacrament, and he not then making any answer to him the Bish : prest him againe to w<sup>ch</sup> he replyd he would think ony, and being urged againe severall tymes by the Bish : he sayd tyme enough, the Duke stood all this while by his Ma : bedside and seing his Ma : was so prest by the Bish : and that he would not receve of them, desired the company to stand a little from the bed, and then asked the King (after having sayd what was fitt upon such an occasion) if he would have a Preist, to come and reconcile him and give him the Blessed Sacrament, and receved his commands to fetch one, and went immediately out of the chamber into the next roome and finding never a Catholeke man there

but the C. de Castel Mellor sent him to gett one and tho other Preists were sent to, it happened so, that none could be then gott but F. Huddleston a Benedicton, the same person that had been so instrumental in his Ma : escape after the Batt : of Worcester, so sone as the Duke had, by the assistance of Will Chiffins gott him into a little clossett, by a back way, next to the bed Chamber and him his Ma : he was there, the King commanded every body to leave the roome but his Brother, w<sup>ch</sup> all did but the E<sup>s</sup> of Bath and Feversham, whom the Duke desired might remaine there tho' Protestants, telling his Ma : it was not fitt for him to be left quit alone with him in the condition he was in, so sone as the roome was cleerd of all but them two the Duke told them the meaning of it and called in F. Huddleston, whom his Ma : receved with great joy and satisfaction, made his confession to him, was reconciled, receved the blessed Sacrament, had the Extreme Unction, and certainly never any body did performe all with greater resignation, Christianity, and courage than his Ma : did, in so much that the poore Father was ravished with it, when this was all performed the company was called in, and for those few houers after his Ma : lived and had his sences he expressed the greatest kindnesse and tendernesse to the Duke that can be imagined, and died unconcerned as became a good Christian, and with a resolution becoming a king."

## TO-DAY

In the parish church of St. Germain's there is let into the wall a casket containing relics of the

Stuart Kings, and a Latin inscription on a tablet recalls the life and tribulations of James, the brother of Charles II, who succeeded him on the throne. On the anniversary of the Stuart exile's death, reverent hands place a new Union Jack on the tomb and deposit wreaths of white flowers.

In such a way is remembered the last crowned Stuart's cause.

" Ye, O fir-stems of the fight-sun,  
Thank we now for manly service ;  
Men by valiant deeds left luckless  
Do I love, and ye are loved."  
*Saga of Howard the Halt.*





## APPENDIX

### LETTERS PATENT CREATING SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE KNIGHT, TO BE BARON LANG- DALE OF HOLME.

CAROLUS SECUNDUS, DEI GRATIA ANGLIAE, SCOTIAE,  
FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX, FIDEI DEFENSOR, etc.

UNIVERSIS et singulis Archiepiscopis, Ducibus,  
Marchionibus, Comitibus, Vice Comitibus, Episcopis,  
Baronibus, Militibus, Praepositis Liberis hominibus, ac  
omnibus Officiariis, Ministris et Subditis nostris Quibus-  
cum ad quos presentes Litterae pervenirent salutem.  
CUM Regibus nihil sit magis proprium aut decens (qui  
nimirum sunt cùm Justitiae tum et honoris Fontes) quam  
ut sontes condigne punire sic et virtute praeclaros  
remunerare atque aestimationis suae notis cohonestare  
magnumque, si quid aliud, Regiae nostrae Majestatis non  
minus praesidium quam ornamentum, semper duximus  
quandocunque viros qui virtute prae caeteris conspicua  
de nobis bene meriti sunt, accessivis honorum titulis  
insignire dignemur ut ipsorum virtus praemiis munita  
firmetur, et plures ad praeclara exinde facinora alliciantur  
et nobilium ordines multis de causis quae humanitus  
accidunt immunuti instaurentur ut hujusmodi sub-  
veniente supplemento Regalis Solii fastigium semper  
circumstante plurimo Magnatum splendore refulgeat, ac  
robore propugnetur. CUMQUE nos altius animo revol-

ventes perspeximus egragiam fortitudinem ac fidelitatem multâ cum prudentiâ atque industriâ conjunctam dilecti et fidelis Marmaduci Langdale de Holme in Comitatu nostro Eboracensi militis, nobis, et praeclarissimo nuper Patri nostro beatae memoriae praestitam; utpote qui ingruentibus Rebellionis Anglicanae primordiis, praefato Patri nostro cum quorundam e Parlamento Westmonasteriensi seditiosorum minis atque contumeliis depulsus, civitatem appulerit Eboracensem, quam primum officiose se contulit; Ac non multo post tres Peditum Cobortes, unumque Equitatûs, numero septingentorum, sui ipsius aeris dispendio conscriptos Regiis adjunxit copiis mox Scotorum qui Angliam jam tum aperto Marte invaserant, agmina apud Corbridge debellavit. Deinde copias ab urbe ducens Oxoniensi Rossiteri militum Tribuni turmas, quibus ipsum impedire contenderat oppugnavit; Et abinde exercitum sub Baronis Fairfaxii signis strenue demicando superans, Pontisfracti Castro, obsidione tunc temporis in angustias redacto suppetias tulit opportunas. Ac Regiae causae intemerata semper fide ac constantia adhaerens, usque dum Patris nostri sacra Majestas Scotorum ditioni (sic jubente rerum necessitate) se dederat; quum armis jam ultra Regi ac Patriae inserviendi non esset locus et Angliae aliquandiu in partes exteras transmigravit. Donec quod non ita multò postea contigit contra Rebelles aliquid moliendi spem jam praebente occasione, in patriam remensus, Barwici oppidum et Carleoliae civitatem in potestatem Regiam reducit, novumque parti Regiae exercitum redintegravit: qua magna perpotravit, tentavit majora, sed paulo post omnibus in pejus ruentibus, fractis ipsius copiis, ipso carcere intruso; postquam exinde non sine summo capitis periculo evasisset, denuo in partes exteras

transfretavit ; uni nobiscum per multos jam annos animo constante et infracto saeviora fortuna passus est, ultima si quando res exigat pro nobis passurus. VOLENTES igitur praefato Marmaduco pro hisce tam praeclare ab eo gestis nostrae aestimationis specimen suaeque praemium virtute exhibere. SCIATIS quod Nos, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali ac et certâ scientiâ et mero Motu nostris, praefatum Marmaducum Langdale ad statum, gradum, dignitatem et honorem BARONIS LANGDALE de Holme in palude de Spalding (Anglice Spalding Moore) in Orientali plagâ (Anglice the East Riding) comitatûs Eboracensis ereximus, praefecimus et creavimus ipsumque Marmaducum Langdale. Baronem Langdale de Holme in Spalding Moore praedicto tenore praesentium praeficimus, constituimus et creamus, Eidemque Marmaduco statum gradum dignitatem stilum titulum nomen et honorem Baronis Langdale de Holme in Spalding Moore praedicto, imposuimus, dedimus et praebuimus, et per praesentes damus, imponimus et praebemus. HABENDUM et tenendum eadem statum, gradum, dignitatem, stilum, titulum nomen et honorem eidem Marmaduco Langdale, et Haeredibus masculis de corpore suo legitimè procreatis et exeuntibus in perpetuum. VOLENTES et per praesentes insuper concedentes pro nobis Haeredibus et Successoribus nostris, quod praedictus Marmaducus Langdale, et Haeredes sui masculi praedicti nomen, statum gradum, stilum, dignitatem titulum et honorem praedictum successive gerant et habeant, et eorum quilibet habeat et gerat, et per nomen Baronis Langdale de Holme vocetur et nuncupetur ; et quilibet eorum vocetur et nuncupetur ; Quodque idem Marmaducus Langdale et Haeredes sui masculi praedicti, et eorum quilibet habeat teneat et possideat, sedem, locum et vocem in Parliamentis,

publicis Comitibus et Conciliis nostris, Haeredum et successorum nostrorum infra Regnum nostrum Angliae, inter alios Barones, ut Barones Parliementorum, publicorum Comitiorum et Conciliorum. Nec non dictus Marmaducus Langdale et Haeredes sui masculi praedicti gaudeant et utantur et eorum quilibet gaudeat et utatur per nomen Baronis Langdale de Holme omnibus et singulis juribus privilegiis praehementiis et immunitatibus ad statum Baronis hujus Regni Nostri Angliae in omnibus rite et de jure pertinentibus quibus caeteri Barones dicti Regni Nostri Angliae ante haec tempora melius, honorificentius et quietius usi sunt et gavisi, seu in praesenti gaudent et utuntur. Et hoc absque fine vel feudo magno vel parvo nobis in Hannaperio nostro. Cancellariae nostrae, seu alibi ad usum nostrum proinde quoque modo reddendo solvendo et faciendo. Eo Quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo aut de aliquo alio valore vel certitudine praemissorum sive eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis aut concessionibus per nos sive per aliquem Progenitorum nostro praefato Marmaduco Langdale ante haec tempora factis in praesentibus minime facta existit. Aut aliquo statuto ordinatione actu, provisione, proclamatione sive restrictione in contrarium inde antehac habita facta, edita, ordinata sive provisa, aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacumque in aliquo non obstante.

IN CUJUS rei testimonium has Litteras nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. TESTE meipso apud Brugas Flandrorum quarto die Februarii Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo octavo, Regnique nostro nono.

[Copied from the original document in Muniment Chest at Holme Hall, June 1918 by Frederic D. Harford.]

GRANT OF SUPPORTERS TO THE ARMS OF SIR  
MARMADUKE LANGDALE, 1ST BARON LANG-  
DALE OF HOLME.

To all and singular unto whome these presents shall come Sr. Edward Walker Knight Garter Principall King of Armes of Englishmen sendeth greeting WHEREAS our Sovereign Lord the King by his Letters Patents under the great Seale of England, bearing date at Bruges in Flanders, the Fowerth day of February, in the ninth yeare of his Reigne, Takeing into his Princely consideration with how greate fortitude, fidelity prudence and Industry Sr Marmaduke Langdale of Holme in the County of York, Knight, did behave himselfe towards the King his Maties Father, of ever blessed memory, and how that from the beginning of the late unhappy divisions hee did zealously and actively assert his said Maties Interest, and the justice of his Cause, raising at his owne expense three Regiments of Foote, and one of Horse, and with them and other Forces under his Command, did by all his Actions, and peticularly at Corbridge, and in the passage unto the fortunate releife of the Castle of Pomfret, then streightly beseiged and reduced unto extremity, shew himselfe to be a vigilant active and coragious Comander, after which in the declining condition of his Maties Affaires, hee attempted and as fortunately possessed the City of Carlisle and Barwick, and raised a new Force for his Maties Redemption (then Prisoner with the Rebels in the Isle of Wight). But the Scottish army being defeated (to whom



hee then was joined) hee was made Prisoner and by escape thence only preserved his life from the fury of the then usurping powers, since when he hath lived in Forreigne parts; patiently expecting his Ma<sup>ties</sup> happy restitution, which is now as happily effected, All which his Ma<sup>tie</sup> then duly considering was graciously pleased by his said Letters Patents to create him the said S<sup>r</sup> Marmaduke Langdale Baron Langdale of Holme in the County of Yorke, to have and to hold the State, Degree, Dignity, Stile, Title, name and Honor of Baron Langdale, to him the said S<sup>r</sup> Marmaduke Langdale, and the heires males of his Body lawfully begotten with all rights priviledges prehemences and Imunities to a Baron belonging, as by the said Letters Patents, it doth and may more fully appeare AND WHEREAS it is an especial and more peculiar right and preheminance belonging to the Peeres of this Kingdome to have certaine supporters added to their Armes, for their greater honor and to distinguish them from persons of inferior Rank, KNOW yee therefore that I the said S<sup>r</sup> Edward Walker Knight Garter Principall King of Armes by the power and authority annexed unto my office of Garter and confirmed unto mee by Letters Patents under the great Seale of England, Have given granted and confirmed by these presents doe give grante and confirm unto the said Right Hono<sup>ble</sup> Sr. Marmaduke Langdale, Knight, Baron Langdale of Holme in the County of York, and to the heires males of his Body, Barons Langdale of Holme, the Supporters hereafter mentioned viz.: Two BULLS, SABLE, HORNED AND HOOFED ARGENT supporting a Sheild of his armes as in the margin of these presents more lively is depicted, The which supporters hee the said Marmaduke Baron Langdale and the Heires males of his Body Barons Langdale of Holme may and shall

all lawfully beare and use at all times and upon all occasions, according to the Law and practise of Armes, IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto affixed the Seale of my Office and subscribed my name this ninth day of October in the twelfth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereign Lord CHARLES THE SECOND, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

ANNOQUE DOMINI 1660.



(sgd) Edw. Walker Garter.

[Copied from the original document in the muniment chest at Holme Hall.

June 1, 1918 (Sgd) Frederic D. Harford.]

In the days of penal persecution the Langdales were very stubborn recusants. The head of the family, Anthony Langdale of Sancton fled to Rome and died there, 1577.

Among the names of Yorkshire "papists" in 1694 are found those of William Langdale (the then head of the family), and his wife—"William Langdale Esquire and Elizabeth his wife, Recusants for one yeare." William Langdale was the son and heir of Richard Langdale of Eastrop, by his wife Idiosa, daughter and co-heir of Marmaduke Therkeld. He married twice; his first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Constable of Everingham, who died August, 1604; his second wife was Bridget, daughter of Thomas Metham of Metham near Howden, Yorkshire, and widow of Thomas Heppen of Armley; she died March, 1627. William Langdale survived until 27 September, 1645. This William Langdale was Sir Marmaduke Langdale's cousin.

On 17 September, 1651, it was decreed that "Mr. Langdale, prisoner in the Tower," to be bailed, on taking the engagement and entering into a bond in £1,000, with two securities in £500 with the usual conditions, to stand in force for 12 months. This referred to William Langdale of Lanthorpe, the head of the family, son of Philip Langdale, second son of William Langdale of Eastrop, who when released from the Tower was in poor health.

Following the Restoration he was knighted 10 October, 1660. He was third cousin to Marmaduke, Lord Langdale.

Of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's other relations, his uncle (his mother's brother) Sir Michael Warton of Beverley Park, was fined for his participation in the wars, £2,920. He was the son of Michael Warton, Member of Parliament for Beverley, 1586-8, and his wife Jean, daughter of John Portington of Portington near Howden, Yorkshire. His will, dated 21 April, was proved at York, 23 September, 1590, and in it he directed "to be buried at St. John's Beverley." His widow married for her second husband Ralph Rokeby, the Antiquarian. She died and was buried 14 June, 1608, at the Belfreys, York. Sir Michael Warton was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1616, and was knighted at Ripon, 16 April, 1617. He was buried at Beverley Minster, 10 October, 1665. His wife was Elizabeth, 3rd daughter and co-heir of Ralph Hansby of Bishop Burton. His son Michael Warton (Sir Marmaduke Langdale's cousin) died in his father's life-time "slayn by a cannon bullet at Scarboro Castle, it being then a garrison for the King."

Sir Marmaduke Langdale's mother, Anne, sister of Sir Michael Warton, and wife of Peter Langdale of Sancton, was baptised 3 March, 1576/17, and was married by licence, 1595.

Abraham Sunderland (Sir Marmaduke Langdale's brother-in-law) who died at Pontefract Castle during the siege for the King, was the eldest son of Richard Sunderland of High Sunderland and Coley, by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, sometime Lord Mayor of London, and Member of the Skinner's Company, of which he was several times Master. Sir Richard Saltonstall was one of the foremost " Merchant Adventurers " of his day. He was also prominently interested in the " Moscovia " Company and the East India Company. It was the penetrations of trade by these and other Companies that resulted in a wide extension of territory in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres being added to the suzerainty of the British crown, which ultimately became the British Empire. A synonymous notice of a country that was destined to become the Dominion of Canada is contained in a Minute of the Privy Council of England dated Whitehall, 21 December, 1632 :

" This day, Sir Richard Saltonstall of London, Knight, and Mathew Cradock, Merchaunt of London, being sent for by warraunt from the Board ; upon entring into Bond to attend the Committees appointed for the businesse of Caneda at all times, Notice being giuen or left at their houses on that behalfe ; were discharged from further attendaunce on their Lordships."

Sir Richard Saltonstall's country residence was at South Ockendon, Essex, where he held the Manor of Groves. He also held the Manor of Ledsham in Yorkshire and other country estates. His wife was Susan, daughter of Thomas Poyntz of North Ockendon, Essex, and sister of Sir Gabriel Poyntz of North Ockendon, Essex, of the family of Poyntz of Iron Acton, Gloucestershire, descended from Sir Hugh Poyntz, Knight, who was engaged in the wars of

Wales, Gascony and Scotland, and was summoned to Parliament as a Baron in 1295. The title descending to his heirs is now in abeyance.

Abraham Sunderland, grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, was cousin of Sir Thomas Myddleton, Knight, of Chirk Castle, Wales, the parliamentary general. Abraham Sunderland married Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Langdale of Pighill, Beverley, the only sister of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. He followed the example of his wife's relations, and although he had signed his name to the Halifax Petition against Shipmoney, Forced Loans, and Benevolences, threw in his lot with the King. His son, Langdale Sunderland, was born 1622, and entered B.N.C. Oxford as an undergraduate in 1639. He died at Ackton near Pontefract, December, 1698, aged 76.

Langdale Sunderland's son, Brian Sunderland, married a daughter of Sir Matthew Appleyard, Knight, who was also an active and doughty Royalist. Sir Matthew Appleyard was descended from William Appleyard, the 1st Mayor of Norwich, whose residence the Bridwell, was recently opened as a Museum of Local Industries by H.R.H. the Duke of York (24 October, 1925). The Appleyard family later resided in the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire, and subsequently removed to Burstwick Garth in Holderness, Yorkshire. Sir Matthew Appleyard born in 1606 was the son of Thomas Appleyard. He was knighted on the field by Charles I. On the taking of Leicester, the King "presently made Sir Matthew Appleyard, a soldier of known courage and experience, his lieutenant governor." His petition in delinquency reads :

"That your petitioner being employed in his Majesty's service as a Colonel formerly and now being sensible of his errors is desirous to submit himself to the pleasure of the

Parliament, and forasmuch as your petitioner being a soldier of fortune and not possessed of any estate except a small sum of money about 160 li left in the hands of Mrs. Grisell Williamson his sister-in-law before the beginning of these times his humble suit is that you will be pleased to take the tenth part thereof according to the ordinances and to give order that the remainder may be paid to the petitioner."

20 December, 1645.—"This past the vote of the Committee at 20 li."

A letter to keep the money in the hands where it now is.

19 October, 1645. "Certificate that he took the Solemn League and Covenant in the church of St. Paul, Convent Garden.

Tho. Clithero, Min. *ibid.*"

Sir Matthew Appleyard married Frances, daughter of Sir William Pelham, 3rd Baronet, of Brocklesby, Lincolnshire. He was a Member of Parliament for the Corporation of Headon. He died in 1669 and was buried in the Chancel of All Saints' Church, Burstwick.





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